PERFORMING HERITAGE

Art of Exhibit Walks

Navina Jafa

Centered in academic theory in the area of exhibiting culture, this book seeks to explore the art and politics of cultural representation. While thus far this discussion has been restricted to the closed spaces of museums, exhibitions, cultural festivals, and the like, here, this densely interdisciplinary problematic is approached through the unique and increasingly popular medium of Heritage Walks.

Focusing on the idea of the living exhibit, the author employs her long career in the field of academic cultural tourism and the performing arts to develop a uniquely critical frame and methodology for engaging with cultures in a dynamic and performative manner. The book argues that heritage walks are necessarily creative and academically invested, and can be an effective medium for rethinking the disciplines of history, sociology, and conservation and the challenges they face in contemporary post-colonial India.

Through an acutely experiential account, the author bridges the gap between applied and academic theory in the fields of visual anthropology, museology, heritage conservation, and cultural studies among others, providing the much needed scholarship in studies of living heritage.

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PERFORMING HERITAGE

To dear Urmila Mausiji,

Thankyou.

Navina

21/10/12

PERFORMING HERITAGE

Art of Exhibit Walks

Navina Jafa

Foreword by Richard Kurin

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To my parents, Virendra Singh and
Manorama Jafa, with love and reverence

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Foreword

Jafa finds a common chord between various forms of cultural representation and her own Delhi tour guiding. The curatorial function of selecting and choosing particular elements in a repertoire and developing a narrative for them are common to a guide of Jafa's ilk as well as for an exhibition curator and festival program director. Emphasis on the primacy of people and things and on sensation and experience is paramount. Consideration of audience and how meanings must be mediated, by docents, interpretative devices, presenters, guides, and so on, are key for all these forms.

Yet, of course, for Jafa, the tour is a venture "out" into the city, and not one "into" the confines of a controlled museum or performance venue. It comes with unpredictability and contingency. A whole set of diplomatic and negotiating skills as well as physical fortitude and linguistic and communicative abilities come to the fore. Real life and real space, with its natural environment, historical and social context, and embedded and explicit aesthetics, are curated, and with a lot less control than when within the museum. Scripting people on tours is severely limited and even inefficient and inappropriate. Even meta-interpretive categories—of heritage itself, of modernity and tradition, of old and new, some familiar to Indians, some to foreigners, some common to both—are addressed in her work.

All of this sets up a wonderfully rich and complex field through which Jafa guides us in her characteristically synthetic and exuberant manner. As an author, she joins her artistic and academic careers in a most pleasurable and informative way.

Richard Kurin
Under Secretary for History, Art, and Culture
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, DC, USA

Preface

When I started writing this book, I knew that I was going to use certain terms and phrases which are not customarily associated with "culture" and "heritage." These terms could appear offensive or provocative, but I would like to emphasize that I have given much thought to the terms and would like to state that they are understood in a specific context. Also I believe that they are representative of ideas from a newer generation in the field of presenting heritage. I belong to a generation that has no memory of the freedom movement, and has grown in an India that has completely transformed from being largely a socialist economy to a partially capitalist one. It is a generation which wants to assert the new Indian identity and the growing self-confidence that characterizes the body language of the man in the street. It is with this consciousness that I wanted to present the art of presenting cultural heritage from a new perspective.

In order to illustrate the points made throughout the book, I have used examples largely from my own experiences. For one thing, this would make my remarks more credible, being first hand. For another, there is not much existing literature on the presenting of heritage through the genre of heritage walks from the perspective that I have chosen. By deliberately using the first-person narrative in several places, I have tried to give the subject a sense of immediacy and make it more interesting and reader friendly.

The title of the book may cause several eyebrows to be raised. Performance is generally associated with theater, drama, dance, and music. How can something inanimate like heritage be "performed"? A logical question, if one limits the meaning of performance and heritage to their narrowest connotations. Heritage could mean something one is born to, or riches of the past, such as a country's history and historical buildings and sites that are of interest and value to present generations, or something that passes from one generation to the next in a social group, for example, a way of life.[1] For me, heritage is a combination of all of these definitions. Heritage, I have argued, is a dynamic, flowing phenomenon. Even buildings cannot remain static; perceptions of them change, new perspectives evolve, the environment in which they exist/live changes, and many of them acquire several lives with time.

Performance could mean enactment, presentation, occurrence, implementation, and recital, among other things. My entry into the field of culture was through the medium of dance. On the proscenium, the performer represents a certain tradition and represents a certain heritage. A dancer's comprehension of that knowledge is displayed in the manner in which she performs. In the same manner, a walk leader is a performer who interprets heritage. As the walk leader takes her audience from one area to another to view heritage, she binds them to the heritage with the performed narrative. The heritage, by itself, lies in the cultural landscape in a particular environment, and it is up to the skill of the presenter to perform the story and the interpretation of the heritage she chooses to present. The heritage itself could be of many kinds, for example, heritage of cuisine, heritage of health and beauty, built heritage of monuments, heritage of itinerant communities, heritage of work cultures, and so on. The function of the presenter is to perform her interpretation of the concerned heritage in a way as to convey a certain perspective on the heritage. The stand I take is that the performed narrative changes with each presentation of a certain heritage; second, the narrative changes each group of audience, the time of day when the presentation is made, and the vicissitudes of the creative mind. Every presentation for a different group of audience has to be performed differently. That is why a lot of any presentation depends on a presenter, who in turn becomes the performer of the performed heritage.

I got my first training to look at the ideas of cultural representation and heritage presentation critically at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, DC, and specifically the living exhibit of the annual Folklife Festival organized by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. The institute is the primary organization outsourced by the UNESCO to study and understand major issues on heritage. These then get applied world over. My exposure to their work inspired me to look at "My" country and its heritage—and differently—and come up with a new and rather unusual way of presenting cultural heritage. I had hoped that I would be able to do something innovative, and when I sent my colleagues at the Smithsonian a description of the walks I had put together, they were rather excited about this new approach to present heritage. James Early, Director on Cultural Policy at the Center, remarked that this tool of cultural representation could be perceived as "applied heritage," which I was executing in relation to India. It does not mean that I was looking for either approbation or validation from the Smithsonian. I mention it merely to show how the idea of cultural representation is viewed by scholars and critics internationally.

As a society, we have a tradition of looking upon certain areas of human endeavor or enterprise as being purely aesthetic or spiritual, basically as something which is above mundane commerce. The refined fields of art and culture are not to be evaluated in terms of material worth; hence my use of the word "brokering," which has now come to acquire a rather ugly, mercenary face that may shock and even offend many sensibilities. I must explain why I have deliberately used the word. Today, the word brokering is commonly used with reference to the business of cultural representation. This entire activity falls in the realm of creative and cultural industries, and has been recognized as part of the domain of the service sector. Since cultural professions were not perceived or seen as contributors to the economy, they were not given adequate remuneration for their services, not only in terms of monetary compensation but also esteem and self-respect. This is one of the important reasons why many of our skills in the creative and cultural industries sector lack sustainability. As a result, many of the skills and arts are dying out.

The term "brokering" was first used in relation to culture by Richard Kurin, my advisor during my Fulbright Scholarship period of 2005–06, in his book titled *Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian*. Dr Kurin, a highly respected scholar, was on the UNESCO jury for the proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Kurin uses the term brokering, and argues about its association with cultural professions by writing, "Professionals in the cultural fields who engage in the public representation of culture through museum exhibits, performance programs, documentary films and recordings, the creation of Web sites, public lectures, and the writings of ethnographies (for an audience beyond specialized experts) are brokering culture."[2] He goes on to write, "Some scholars and curators may at least an hour, if not more, with me to discuss various issues on culture and heritage. Thank you Richard, but for you I would not be able to assess my work critically. It was an honor to discover a teacher like you.

The path in cultural studies began with my interaction with Dr Kapila Vatsyayan at a very young age. Thank you Didi, for guiding me for the last three decades in understanding Indian culture. The idea of heritage walks was first introduced to me by my research guide Dr Narayani Gupta. Her enthusiasm to spread the value of history and heritage among people was inspiring and encouraged my activism toward Indian culture. Thank you ma'am for practical guidance.

I would like to acknowledge the invaluable insight to the idea of performance by my Kathak dance guru Pandit Birju Maharaj, with whom I had innumerable and memorable discussions and who I observed as a student for over four decades of what it takes to be a master performer.

I would like to thank some special people who assisted me in developing a critical eye in understanding nuances of cultural heritage and on exhibiting culture. In the United States, at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Washington, DC, these special people include Peter Seital, my special brilliant guide; Daniel Sheehy, Director of the Center; James Early, Director of Cultural Heritage Policy at the Center; and James I. Deutsch, program curator. I would like to also thank Barry Bergey, Director of Folk and Traditional Arts, National Endowment for the Arts, and Mary Kenny, my dear friend and co-traveler both at the Smithsonian and out of it. Her work on the favelas of Brazil inspired me, especially in the way she documented entire lives by giving cameras to children and description of her tours along the Amazon.

Thank you one and all for having so much of patience with me when I was asking so many questions.

My special thanks to Rajeev Sethi, Chairman Asian Heritage Foundation, New Delhi, and main designer of Aditi, Living Exhibit on India at the Festival of India in Washington, DC, for giving me a chance once I was back in India to work on the intangible heritage of South Asia.

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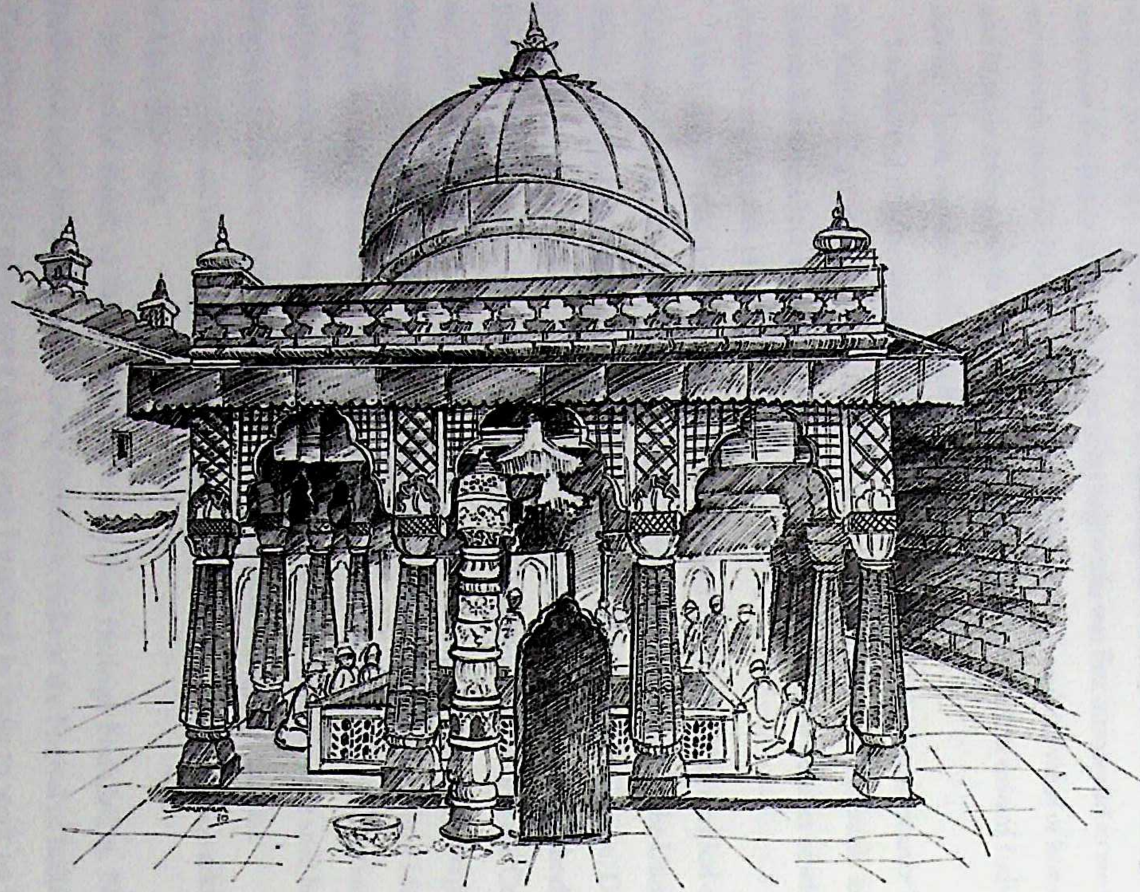
I would like to thank Sunil Ajmera in the journey of comprehending the issue of business in Indian culture.

My two special, unbelievable children Suvid and Arsh, thank you, for having silently tolerated my long absences from the family and for becoming my assistants on my heritage walks even if you demanded a fee!



Dargah of Hazrat Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki Chishti, Mehrauli

Introduction

For the last decade and more I have been engaged in the work of cultural representation through various mediums. After completing a training program in cultural representation and cultural management at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, DC, as a Fulbright scholar in 2005–06, I started to review my own work of cultural representation and the need to document my experiences in this little-explored field in India.

My forte has been conducting walking tours through Delhi and other cities of India, and my main focus has been to academically present and interpret Indian culture in its natural environment. Though heritage walks have become a very popular activity in many cities of India, as well as the world, in my view, the potential for exhibiting culture through heritage walks has not been fully explored in India. So far, the discussion on the art of cultural representation has been restricted to the closed spaces of museums, sales exhibitions, and cultural festivals. It is my belief that heritage walks can be an effective academic and intellectual activity for the art of cultural representation. As a category of living exhibits, heritage walks demonstrate the functionality of cultural representation outside institutions.

Museums all over the world have been engaging in dialogs on the politics and art of "Exhibiting Cultures" for several decades, but in India it is still in its nascent stage, both in the institutional arena of museums as well as public spaces. This book explores the notion of heritage walks as a medium for exhibiting cultures, analyzes the methodology of organizing such living exhibits, and offers suggestions on making a career and a business venture out of the activity, emphasizing the fact that it is essentially an academic research-oriented and performance-related profession, which can also be economically viable.

The book specifically discusses heritage walks as an exhibition of public culture that feeds into an experiential learning of history, sociology, and conservation and the deeper implications of their political ramifications, especially in creating awareness and promoting peace initiatives. It creates a platform to seriously think on these issues. As an aspect of tourism, these walks become a laboratory for developing a performance studies approach to tourism. It shows how this activity feeds into the field of cultural tourism and, therefore, is a manifestation of a cultural and creative industry. All these ideas are presented with examples and illustrations from my own experiences of curating and executing heritage walks over the last decade.

My personal engagement as a public academician in the field of cultural representation and my desire to share the rewarding and enriching experience became a prime motivation to write this book. The experience extends itself to share the interaction with varied cultures, their representatives, and the audience responses to the exercise that were an added inspiration for this book.

Titled *Performing Heritage: Art of Exhibit Walks*, this book is a critique on the art of presenting heritage through the increasingly popular medium of heritage walks in postcolonial India. It focuses on the exhibiting of heritage as a category of living exhibit by interacting with and encountering heritage in its natural habitat. This is different from the usual category of living exhibit where an environment and space for representation is created artificially for a specific time to showcase culture. The book also serves as a guide for those engaged in cultural tourism and cultural studies.

On one level, the walks are presented as a cultural production, which attempts to bridge the gap between applied and academic theoretical study of visual anthropology, museology, and conservation of heritage among many other fields of study. This innovative genre of applied visual anthropology, therefore, expands the scope of the forum for exhibiting cultures and feeds into mainstream academic studies. Yet, on another level, these walks are shown as an example of a product that has the potential of being a part of the creative and cultural industrial sector.

There are five main issues that are explored and debated in the book. They are (*a*) the ideas of heritage walks as living exhibits, (*b*) the changing perceptions of the profession of tour guides, (*c*) walks as a medium of applied heritage that epitomize experiential learning, (*d*) the walks as a manifestation of the creative and cultural industry, and finally (*e*) walks as a mode of representation to broker the cultural identity of a country or region.

The book opens with a discussion of the concept of living exhibit in reference to various formats of public cultures—in the form of exhibits that showcase traditional cultures that represent living cultures and human representation of traditions. Such schemes include the folklife festivals, especially the one curated by the Smithsonian Museum, or the various *mela*s (fairs) organized on the theme of Indian heritage, especially the living, intangible heritage. Heritage walks, the book argues, are a form of living exhibit where the audience is able to encounter cultural traditions, and representatives of these traditions, as they exist in their natural surroundings. The argument also takes into account the relevance of human stories of built heritage and the trajectory of the perception of built heritage by communities, which can be said to become the public life of monuments. This encourages an understanding of cultural heritage from various perspectives. With this in view, the first chapter of the book discusses the technicalities involved in combining, constructing, and executing such a living exhibit. The examples quoted are largely from Delhi, but the guidelines to curate heritage walks can be applied to any other country or space of "culturalscapes."

A central question in the context of viewing the dynamics of constructing and executing such living exhibits is the persona of the curator and "guide" who connects the audience with the culturalscape and creates an understanding about the heritage represented. This is a rather complex issue since the question is much more complex. Unlike living exhibits, which are fabricated, walking tours bring the audience into the natural environment of, and in direct contact with, the exhibit. As such, the distractions of the environment in which the heritage exists are much more. Hence, there is a need for specialists competent to deal with any eventuality, and this leads to the issue of the changing perception of a "tourist guide."

With increasing awareness among the public in general and increasing number of "cultural" tourists in particular, there is a growing demand for qualitative "guides." The book highlights the importance of the task of heritage showcasing as a legitimate field of public intellectualism and emphasizes the need for knowledgeable, creative, and people-oriented individuals to enter the field, thereby introducing another level in the hierarchy of the conventional fraternity of "guides." The book is not only a critique of the presentation of culture through heritage walks, but also a guide for academicians wanting to engage in this unique profession. In this context, I have introduced a specific term to address these "academic guides" as *study leaders*. The term "study leader" has once again been adopted from the travel division of the Smithsonian Museum—Smithsonian Journeys—where I was appointed as a "study leader" in 2007 to lead an educational tour to India. For the last two decades, I have been curating study tours around India. The challenge is of course not only to present the heritage of the various heritage sites, but also to blend the tangible and intangible heritage of an area in order to communicate a holistic understanding of an entire region and its environs. This presupposes a study by the professionals of the sociological implications of a comparatively new category of public intellectualism.

While discussing the feasibility of the walks to act as an experience of learning, my colleague at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage averred that the entire exercise was that of "applied heritage." I attempt, in the book, an explanation in the manner in which walks are used to address different issues and act as a channel for learning and education. This theme is expanded when analyzing factors and considerations that dictate the presentation of such cultural productions. To bring home the point, the chapter discusses how the cultural mindset of a group or the objective of an audience determines the course of the narrative on culturalscapes. Through several examples, the book illustrates the manner in which such experiential learning serves to bolster sociopolitical concerns. This is amply illustrated in one particular example, where the impact on understanding of different communities in order build trust and feed into peace efforts was considerable. The other is to bring in a range of perspectives to read culturalscapes and grasp the phenomenon of "Rising India," or even "Changing India." In this effort to promote public intellectualism, importance is given to the manner in which a study leader must be aware of recent researches in the related fields as he/she proceeds to read a culturalscape with a specific purpose.

The fourth concern of the book revolves around the aspect of assessing this activity as an economic initiative that is a part of the creative, cultural, educational, and tourism and exhibition-related industry. In the context of the manner in which such an activity has indirect impact on the economy of a particular landscape, tradition bearers, and related professions, it is shown how there is an opportunity for a "cultural professional" to create a "business venture" of this field that is outside the bounds of an institutional set-up.

The fifth theme that is touched upon in the book is an analysis of how heritage walks as a form of public culture can be seen as a medium to broker the cultural image of a country, in this case India, to its own people and to the world at large. The brokering of the cultural heritage can play a significant role in the conservation of heritage in general, since the exhibits become a medium by which the common man becomes participative in addressing and accessing heritage, whether for leisure or for education. The brokering of heritage through the walks, it is argued, can play another significant role in creating trust, building bridges, and connecting people at different levels.

These themes and objectives are discussed, debated, and explored in five chapters. The first chapter, titled "Debating and Speculating Heritage," examines heritage as a concept and relates it to heritage walks as a medium that expands the understanding and perception of heritage. The idea of changing perceptions evokes different responses to changes in both tangible and intangible heritage by people who experience and encounter heritage. The chapter debates the popularly held concept of heritage as being something merely ingrained in the past, and presents it as an entity that is vibrantly alive even in the present times. In this context, the chapter refers to examples and analyzes the manner in which a community perceives built heritage and gives to monuments a public life that changes with times. There is another example to show how tradition bearers, with their skills and practice of rituals, bring changes in their living traditions in response to the contemporary environment. That change in a living tradition may well be in response to the growing attraction it holds for the tourism industry. Here I refer to and agree with Barbara Gimblett when she says: "Heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. Despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, recreation, recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration, heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past."[1] It is the past that lends a sense of the exotic, and the wonder much of the time stems from the journey the heritage has taken to survive and be alive in the present. It is the present life of heritage that brings about issues of preservation, conservation, and all others that surround heritage as it presents itself in contemporary times to contemporary audiences. Heritage walks, as an example of a cultural production, bring to fore what heritage represents in the present context and thus creates awareness among existent audiences.

Setting the ground for establishing the link between heritage walks and heritage as a concept, the book, in the second chapter, enters the technical space of (*a*) an understanding of the concept of "living heritage" and (*b*) exploring the understanding of the internal aspects of heritage walks and what the treatment needed to construct such an exhibit is.

The second chapter, titled "Functionality, Designing, and Executing Walking Tours," begins by tracing the trajectory of various formats of living exhibits in relation to creating displays on India within and outside the country, goes on to lay out the methodology, and lists the various components that go in researching, planning, designing, and executing heritage walks. The walks as cultural productions formulated in their natural environment are projected as theatrical presentations bringing in multiple components, and where relevant, including community participation. Of course, all the components that go into making this theatrical production are based on the main objective the walks are set to serve. Principally, they are not only exhibits that have an educational angle, but could also be designed to assist in promoting peace or the experiential learning of social, economic, religious, or political contentions reflected in the inner dynamics of heritage.

Functionality in presentation brings out a reinvention through the execution of the cultural production and enhances the perception of heritage, which provides a new life to the heritage. Chapter III, titled "Making of a Study Leader," determines the evolution of the study leader as a multiskilled professional, who incorporates in herself the role of a public academician, research scholar on culture, a performing artist, an on-the-spot manager of an audience, and a savvy logistics person. By the last description, I imply a person who plans the itineraries, manages community participation, and improvises according to the dictates of a situation, however embarrassing, untoward, or tense, that may arise around the environment during the heritage walk. The chapter strongly advocates such a person as a much-needed cultural professional who contributes to the exhibiting and understanding of heritage, is aware of the danger it may face, and is able to resolve the confusion that heritage traditions and buildings are confronted with in the fast-changing world. The critical role such a professional can play through the medium of heritage walks creates an exclusive category of a specialized "guide" and not merely one associated with tourism.

As stated before, heritage walks not only feed into tourism and are part of the education and cultural service industry, but can also emerge as a lucrative enterprise to earn an independent livelihood. The fourth chapter, titled "Walking Tours: Aspects of Economics and Culture," analyzes the manner in which this profession is a service activity. The chapter describes the cultural value and growing popularity of walking exhibits against the backdrop of growth of activities of public culture and the sharp rise in consumerism. It not only explores the manner in which the service can be organized into a proper business, but also describes ways to produce allied "products" and services from the knowledge bank developed in organizing heritage walks. Like any corporation, the academic research defines the R&D of the business, and can be used to expand the outreach of the knowledge by innovative service products. The chapter analyzes this issue by detailing the effects of cultural bonanzas on some folk traditions. Finally, the chapter also explores the minute dimensions of creating a successful business out of heritage walks. Logistics and realistic costs, inputs, outputs, and profits are analyzed in detail with the help of examples.

The chapter justifies the value of heritage walks as a manifestation of academic cultural tourism and analyzes the manner in which heritage walks as a tourist activity are characterized as creative and innovative cultural productions that involve community participation and the representation of traditions. An attempt is made to create an awareness of the positive or negative impact this may have on local people and traditions.

The last chapter titled "Walking Exhibits as Brokering Culture" explores the complexities involved in exhibiting the cultures of India. This is a critical section since exhibiting culture is, after all, communicating the identity and image of the country. The chapter discusses the manner in which walking exhibits are a phenomenon for brokering the image of India against the emerging global economic and social changes. They are a means for promoting cultural diplomacy and a mode to create public awareness regarding the value of heritage, thereby serving to promote the conservation of heritage. The term brokering is taken from the writing of Robert Reich, a former Harvard economist, who introduced the expression "strategic brokering." A relatively new occupational form arising "from the complex, postmodern, symbolist analytic economy,"[2] Reich describes the role of a strategic broker as "creating settings in which problem-solvers and problem-identifiers can work together without undue interference. The strategic broker is a facilitator and a coach—finding the people in both camps who can learn most from one another."[3] Brokering itself facilitates circulation and exchange. As a cultural dealing, heritage walks are an art to not only produce a value for heritage in the globalized economic world but also to initiate interest in indigenous cultures through the representation of heterogeneous traditions. It is this understanding of the value of heritage which is brokered by heritage walks that makes the latter a medium of conserving, reclaiming, promoting, and preserving heritage as a heritage or *parampara*.

Notes and References

1. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology*, 39, no. 3, Autumn (1995): 367–380. Published by University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology.
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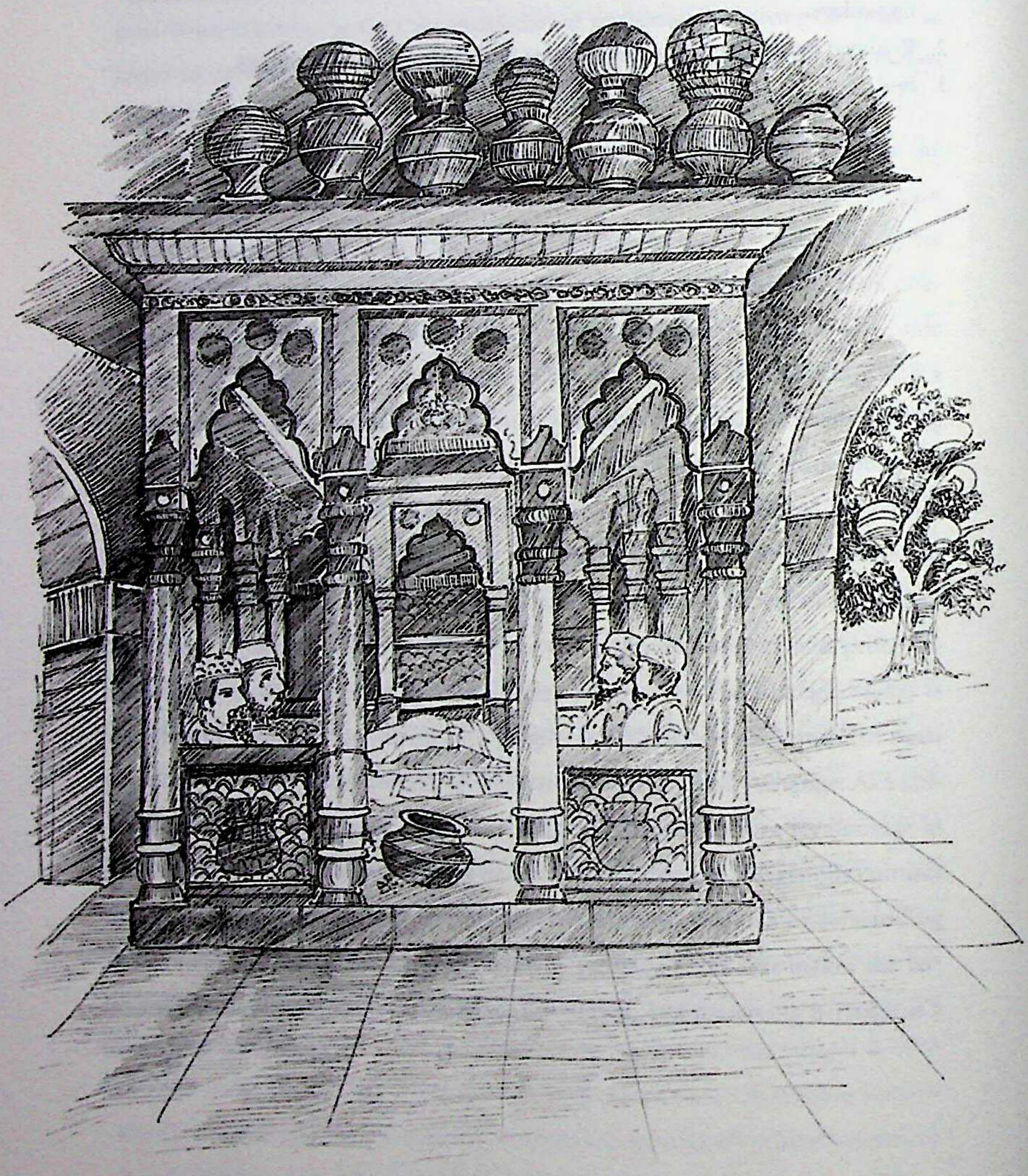

Matka Pir, Purana Quila

CHAPTER I

Debating and Speculating Heritage

To be sure, our historical sensibilities are strengthened by our individual experiences with the continuities of life—by our being beings in time.[1]

This book, as the title suggests, refers to the realistic modalities constituting the art of heritage walks. I begin by attempting a definition of heritage. Heritage, the world over, has taken a prominent place in the cultural sphere while viewing the past and its relevance for the present and future. "The concept of cultural heritage invariably differs from one nation or region to another. In a broad sense, it is perceived as comprising of movable and immovable assets of artistic, literary, architectural, historical, archaeological, ethnological, scientific or technological value that embody the essence of a nation."[2] An interesting issue that is often apparent in debates on cultural heritage in contemporary India relates to critically viewing ideas and terms on culture from within the Indian context. It has been increasingly felt that the pressure of English terminology does not always exhaust the nuances of old civilizational understanding of concepts. A seminar organized by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA), New Delhi, in1998, took the case of the Sanskrit terms that could assist in providing clarification and help in directing historical, anthropological, and other scholarly investigation on a vast subject like Indian culture. The seminar titled "*Parampara* and the Individual" clarified, discussed, and analyzed terms such as *parampara* for "tradition," *adhunikta* for "modernity," and *vyaktitva* for "individual talent." The term *parampara* more appropriately conveys the sense of the continuity of heritage in relation to the perception of heritage and exhibiting its past and present status. The catch phrase is, of course, tradition of heritage.

Tradition stands for a mode of thought or behavior followed by a people continuously from generation to generation. It implies a time-honored practice or set of such practices. The idea of tradition as I present it is that heritage per se is not only about built heritage that stands as a silent witness of historical periods but is really the story of man and his ingenuity evolved and expressed over time—an inherited tradition from the past that has been crystallized in a tangible form or remains as intangible living culture. This is the view that I wish to take when I discuss heritage and tradition and relate it to the idea of *parampara.*

The English word "tradition" is constantly posited in opposition to changes brought about by time—changes that are perceived as "modernization" or of a contemporary status. It transmits a message that it is the antithesis of "modernity" and is associated with old values. It conveys the notion of return. In itself, a "tradition" of something communicates a character that is frozen in time. Heritage too is a word, which, in the English language, conveys a sense of the past, something that is bound in time and inherited by the present community, something that has been created by ancestors. If one looks at it from a purely Western tourist-like perspective, heritage is the repackaging of tradition, to be presented to a contemporary audience. The entire essence of the tradition of heritage is located in the past. The word and concept (heritage) fails to really capture the dynamics with which people consume, relish, and engage with the past and convert it into a past that has presence, relevance, meaning, and value for present times. This often implies that such "heritage" is a showpiece to be appreciated in terms of skill, beauty, and admiration of man's ingenuity in the past. I argue that much of the heritage that exists in its natural environment, even if it is a building, has a past and also a present; and that the presentation of that heritage is in fact located in the present. There is a whole community that lives with the heritage and accepts it as an inherent part of their neighborhood, which I will discuss later in this chapter with reference to two monuments—the Taj Mahal and the Jamali Kamali complex.

The real quintessence of heritage is the concept of tradition. Tradition not only exists as the basic character of a family, society, community, or civilization, which are expressed in both tangible and built heritage, but a tradition also continues to survive in the present time since it changes. The word *parampara* implies a dynamic, flowing tradition. The changing character of tradition as culled in the word *parampara* is fundamental to its survival, regeneration, or resurrection, whether as a living traditional entity or as a tangible heritage structure.

The word *parampara* has its roots in the Sanskrit language. The word has been derived from the word *param*, which means "next," and as the word itself points to the repeat of this word, that is, *param–param*, it implies an unbroken sequence of one thing following another. The terms carry coils of suggestion that help formulate concepts. *Parampara* signifies "layers of matter accumulated in time, as if in flood."[3] The word *parampara* facilitates the intermingling of past tradition with modern practice. (Modern and traditional are in opposition, seemingly!) It smoothens the blending of the old with the present and the present with what occurs as the progressive flow of tradition into the future. The word *parampara* therefore captures the historical natural flow of tradition as heritage, as it emerges and presents itself in contemporary times.

In recent times, a growing need has been felt the world over for academically debating on exhibiting cultures and the diverse ways in which cultural displays can be organized. The idea of cultural displays in cosmopolitan spaces becomes central to this discourse. Cultural displays are centered on heritage. The word *parampara* from the Indian perspective conveys that which emerges from the past as if in a flow. The word captures "that something" which is inherited by the present and, in one shape or the other, flows into the future. While flowing from one timespan to another, communities explore study, examine the past flowing inheritance, and even contribute by changing or conserving what they have inherited as a legacy for future generations.

> It might be read as implied that there is something called a "past" that is sharply separated from something called a "present." To me the past is not really past. It's alive. It has force, inertia, momentum. It is an on rolling tidal wave whose cutting edge constitutes the present with majestic—though not determinative power.[4]

For a contemporary audience there is a sense of dynamism which creates changes in the perception of the tangible heritage. Second, cultural processes associated with the tangible heritage are often responsible in providing a certain tradition the capacity to survive in time. We may describe cultural processes as:

> … a sequence of related actions or activities participated in by an ongoing group of persons, who play a variety of roles in that sequence. Cultural processes include economic, religious, political and other kind of processes that are regulated at least in part by culture, here defined anthropologically as a system of categories and rules for manipulations of them that people use to transform their environment, to relate to each other and to others, and to create meaning and beauty, among other things.[5]

In this opening chapter, I intend to introduce the art of heritage walks as a tool of cultural production to communicate the perception and relevance of heritage to contemporary audiences and communities in present times. Heritage walks as exhibits are also a means of academic analyses of not only the past but also traditions that are vibrant as living cultures. As such, heritage walks feed into the idea of creating a public life for heritage even as the community may have engaged itself with heritage on its own, and with time that perception of heritage may have changed due to several factors. To illustrate this point, I begin with a small conversation:

> Listen Child, the Taj Mahal was a rauza, a Persian word which is a tomb with a mosque and garden which is symbolic of the garden of paradise; in fact most Sufi shrines were referred to/addressed as rauza. The word "Dargah," in Persian, means a threshold but is a Sufi shrine. Muslims believe that Dargahs are portals by which they can invoke the deceased saint's intercession and blessings.
>
> Today this building has become a monument of national and world importance. The sacred spirit now is situated largely in profane space. Despite the fact that the monument still carries a sacred entity for several of us and that is the reason there is the anniversary "urs" of Shahjahan at the Taj even today, the world at large views the Taj as a tourist spot only …[6]

The statement: "Today this building has become a monument of national and world importance. The sacred spirit now is situated largely in profane space …" communicates the changing perception of heritage sites by the community as it engages with heritage. The activity of heritage walks as an instrument to provide that engagement emerges as a form of public culture.

> By public culture we mean a new cosmopolitan arena that is a "zone of contestation." In this zone, private and state interests, low and high cultural media, and different classes and groups formulate, represent, and debate what culture is (and should be). Public culture is articulated and revealed in an interactive set of cosmopolitan experience and structure, of which museums and exhibitions are a crucial part.[7]

The walks, as a cultural production, exhibit heritage as a dynamic force from within its natural habitat.

The walks bring people to engage with heritage and the various interpretations and the manner in which heritage is presented can make heritage and the walks (as modes of cultural productions on heritage) the zones of contestation. The growing awareness of heritage—tangible and intangible—as part of public cultural experiences can create multiple identities of the heritage. The walks as means of cultural productions provide a platform to understand the changing idea of this heritage. To illustrate, as part of the public culture in the past, the Taj was a religious site; it was surrounded by a bazaar space and community neighborhood—Taj Ganj. The community related to the heritage as a sacred ground. They participated in its upkeep. Today, the Taj is not only a national protected monument with a secular identity but a world heritage site. Considered one of the wonders of the world, it has become a global symbol of art and aesthetics. In the capitalist market, it has acquired a new identity as a symbol of perfect beauty, ultimate refined aesthetic creativity, and an ultimate luxury. In this new changing identity of the Taj, which also communicates a new status, there has been a disassociation, or should I say a renegotiation, in the manner the community relates to the monument. The community neighborhood of Taj Ganj is still alive as a part of a vibrant heritage industry, even if it is de-linked from the Taj Mahal, which is still perceived as a shrine by most in the community; however, the community itself continues to actively participate in the heritage industry surrounding the Taj, selling wares and services. It almost appears as if the story of the community and its relationship with the existing heritage of the Taj becomes a heritage in itself. The repackaged identity of heritage for consumption as well as the kinds of living heritage that surrounds the past—both have emerged from the past but have recreated themselves in the present. Here, there is a sense of flowing tradition.

For the management, administration, organization, and individuals engaged in exhibiting heritage, one of the major responsibilities is the logistical ground reality on how the multiple identities of a heritage are accessed and presented. This can sometimes become a dilemma. This is what Tapati Guha-Thakurta has referred to as the public life of monuments when she discusses the position of two heritage sites—the Bodh Gaya Temple where Buddha attained his enlightenment and the controversial Ram Temple and the demolished 15th century mosque in Ayodhya.[8]

In recent times, leisure and educational travel within India has increased, thanks to the upscale production and attention given by the media, infrastructure development, interesting creative culture tourism activities, and several other factors. Even as heritage awareness has become fashionable, the community response and engagement with heritage in India can be analyzed from a sociological perspective; I present one such perspective. It is a route of also understanding the public life of monuments and heritage. Frequently, it is seen that the community engages itself with a heritage site to enhance some aspect of a "cultural" identity. Significant to this is to lay "claim" on an otherwise secular protected heritage site. This could be done either by an individual or by a specific cultural group. Individuals, for example, are often seen to advertise that "claim" by conspicuously writing their names and emotions on the body of monuments, even if the graffiti results in the defacement of monuments.

An example of the community "claiming" a heritage site is the tomb–mosque complex of Jamali Kamali in the Archeological Park at Mehrauli, New Delhi, near the Qutub complex. In recent years, the monument has been "claimed" by different groups in some compelling ways. Jamali, whose real name was Faizlullah, was a noted poet and Sufi saint who lived through the reigns of the Lodis, Babur, and Humayun. Faizlullah died in 1536, exactly 10 years after Mughal rule had been established. He was probably the first poet of Delhi who appended Dehlavi to his name. His poetry in his *Masnavi* and other writings are illustrations of his talent. Faizlullah was drawn into the religious fold and came to be known as Jalal Shah or the fiery saint. He performed several miracles, which showed his Jamal or glory and so the name Jamali became popular. The mosque next to the complex where he is buried was constructed under his guidance during the reign of Humayun. The walls of Jamali's mausoleum are decorated with colored tiles and inscribed with verses composed by him. The grave next to his is said to be the grave of Kamali. While the names Jamali and Kamali go together, who the latter was is still a riddle. Even Naseem Akhtar, the eminent curator in charge of the Islamic Art section at the National Museum, New Delhi, said that no one could say specifically who that grave belongs to, when I asked him during one of my conversations with him.[9]

A few years ago, Sunil Gupta, the photographer–author of the book *Wish You Were Here: Memories of a Gay Life*, claimed that the monument of Jamali Kamali was the only gay monument in India. Kamali was Jamali's partner.[10] He used its symbolic image in his book, which is a deeply personal account tracing his journey on coming out as a gay. This claim however remains an unrealistic, invented interpretation of a heritage site.

The more recent claim on the mosque in the Jamali Kamali complex is more confounding. Since the past few months, suddenly there is the presence of plastic prayer mats, clocks that show *namaz* timings, a large number of ugly-looking plastic pitchers for ablutions lying around, and evidence of defacing of the central niche (*mihrab*) with oil fumes. By means of rituals, a group has "claimed" the monument site. There are other protected monuments that are being claimed and encroached upon by an initiative of the Delhi Waqf Board who claim that even if a monument is old and protected but is a mosque, then the community must have the freedom to claim it ritualistically.[11]

As a national protected monument, the mosque and tomb have a secular identity and the Archeological Survey of India (ASI) is supposed to make sure that such controversial takeovers are prevented. The archeological rules suggest that if rituals were carried out by a group before the monument was declared to be a protected and national heritage, then they would be permitted to be continued. However, if at the time of according it a protected national status, there are no rituals being performed, then no activity or claim can be made. However, enclosing it, installing a gate, and posting a security guard by the ASI has been ineffective. This potentially controversial and already complex problem requires immediate attention of the authorities, especially in the background of the erstwhile Babri Masjid and several other such monuments. One must not forget that the non-Muslim communities can once again move forward to "reclaim" their territory, since it is well known that the area was occupied by non-Muslim rulers before the arrival of Muslims in the 13th century.

The fact that the Jamali Kamali complex is in what is called the Archeological Park is ironical. The park was the result of a successful collaboration for conserving heritage between Delhi Tourism, the Delhi State Department of Archaeology, Delhi Development Authority, and the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage

(INTACH). The area, which has the distinction of being continuously populated for over 1,000 years, is peppered with several fragments of built heritage. One of the important objectives of the collaboration was to promote collective participation for the conservation of heritage. That objective today seems to be wavering.

I have suggested several ways in which the community can play an active role not by "claiming" sites such as Jamali Kamali for their own but by participating in the maintenance of the park as a whole. On one occasion during one of my walks, I recall a participant exclaiming: "We New Yorkers are so proud about the Central Park, but look at this Park! Only if it was without monkeys, pigs, plastics, and stench it could be no less than a world heritage park!" Another Indian participant had remarked that not all is the responsibility of the government; the civic community too has a role to play in maintaining the pride of the national heritage.

The views on heritage are complex, yet one aspect is quite clear: heritage provokes the past to continue to have an existence in the present. Second, in the contemporary understanding of heritage, the past is presented through cultural productions, whether for learning, as exemplified here through the means of heritage walks, or simply through tourist cultural production experiences. This is borne out by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett when she says: "Heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past. Such language suggests that heritage is there prior to its identification, evaluation, conservation, and celebration …"[12]

There are fascinating examples of the changing perception of living traditions. New inventions in traditions reveal the manner in which traditions of rituals, crafts, and performing arts change over time in order to survive.

> Heritage, for the sake of my argument, is the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life.[13]

The issue is vividly exemplified in the wide range of intangible heritage, defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as:

> Peoples' learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create, and the resources, spaces and

> other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability; these processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity, as well as to the safeguarding of cultural diversity and creativity of humanity.[14]

To illustrate this, I refer to changes in traditions in Buddhist monasteries in the far-flung region of Ladakh, a cold desert and the largest district in the North Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. I have been organizing special walking and driving exhibits to demonstrate the multicultural heritage of this region. At the center of the definition of intangible heritage are the learned processes that local peoples perform to create and recreate the shared aspects of their material and spiritual lives.[15] In recent years, the growth of tourism has led the Buddhist monasteries to organize special ritual festivals in summer, whereas normally these celebrations and festivities are scheduled for the long winter months from October to May. The local populace is unable to participate in the new summer festivals since the summer is short, and they are engaged in agriculture and other occupations, in preparation for the long winter months, which is when the "real" festivals continue to be organized and when the locals have the time to participate.

Similar exhibits have been organized by me in Kutch, a district in the western state of Gujarat, India. Here, there is a small crafts village called Nirona. The village is proud to have very many kinds of artisans, endowed with multiple skills, who produce a large variety of crafts. There is one family of ironsmiths, traditionally engaged in making copper bells. In my recently curated academic tour in Kutch, I noticed that the ironsmith was making angels to hang on Christmas trees. It was definitely a new product, especially catering to foreign tourists!

Yet, how does one understand the internal changes of and within the perception of heritage, and of course of the representative experience? I would like to explore this question through the art of executing heritage walks based on my personal experiences.

Heritage walks as a tool of cultural display in the impression, perception, and interpretation of the *parampara* of heritage provide the essential role to widening the understanding of the past for public and therefore are a category of public culture. They are also an essential tool to create an understanding of identities—be they national, community, or individual, an identity that may be based on markers of religion, caste, color, gender, or others. "Understanding the way in which the present has emerged from the past maximizes our capacity for effective action in the present—whoever we are."[16] The perceptions of heritage communicated by cultural displays as formats of public culture can be crucial instruments of explicating the idea of the tradition of heritage to future generations and in the process, add to its conservation. The meaning, the perception of heritage created by a cultural display, a museum exhibit, or a heritage walking exhibit can also be political in nature.

A significant feature in the cultural displays of heritage walks in relation to the perception of heritage is the question of whether or not the choice of a certain subject for display should or ought to be categorized as heritage. Heritage is commonly indicative of a cultural tradition either displayed through a tangible physical structure or intangible living tradition that a region, a country, or a nation is proud of. In recent times, there has been an upsurge of what has come to be known as "poverty tourism" in several developing countries like Brazil, South Africa, and India—an issue that I have referred to in the last chapter on brokering culture. One of the central activities included in this are exciting poverty heritage walks. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett states in her essay "Theorizing Heritage": "Heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, that heritage converts locations into destinations and tourism makes them economically viable as exhibits of themselves ..."[17] The debate is whether or not one can call poverty heritage. If heritage is viewed on another level beyond the conceptual as an economic activity and is seen as a collaborative activity along with tourism, there is another question: Is not tourism seen by most in the development field as a development activity? Then, can poverty be seen as heritage? Is the objective of a development activity to preserve the situation of poverty in a community? Is poverty a heritage, a legacy, a living intangible heritage to be frozen as a tradition? Walking the exhibit of poverty as heritage, in my view, undercuts the purpose of any developmental programs; unless of course it is used to showcase both the situation of poverty and the development work being done by an organization. Here, I bring the example of the Salam Balak Trust in Delhi, which organizes walks by the beneficiary poor children around the locality where their organization is addressing the issue of poverty. The walk is designed specifically to create awareness of their program and not of poverty as heritage. There are no charges and thus the objective of the exhibit is to increase awareness of poverty alleviation programs rather than freezing the situation of poverty and depicting it as an exotic state.

The mode of heritage walks as a tool to exhibit heritage expands on the idea of heritage itself, which is both a concept of learning about an inherited tradition and a concept of generating an economic activity in tandem with tourism.

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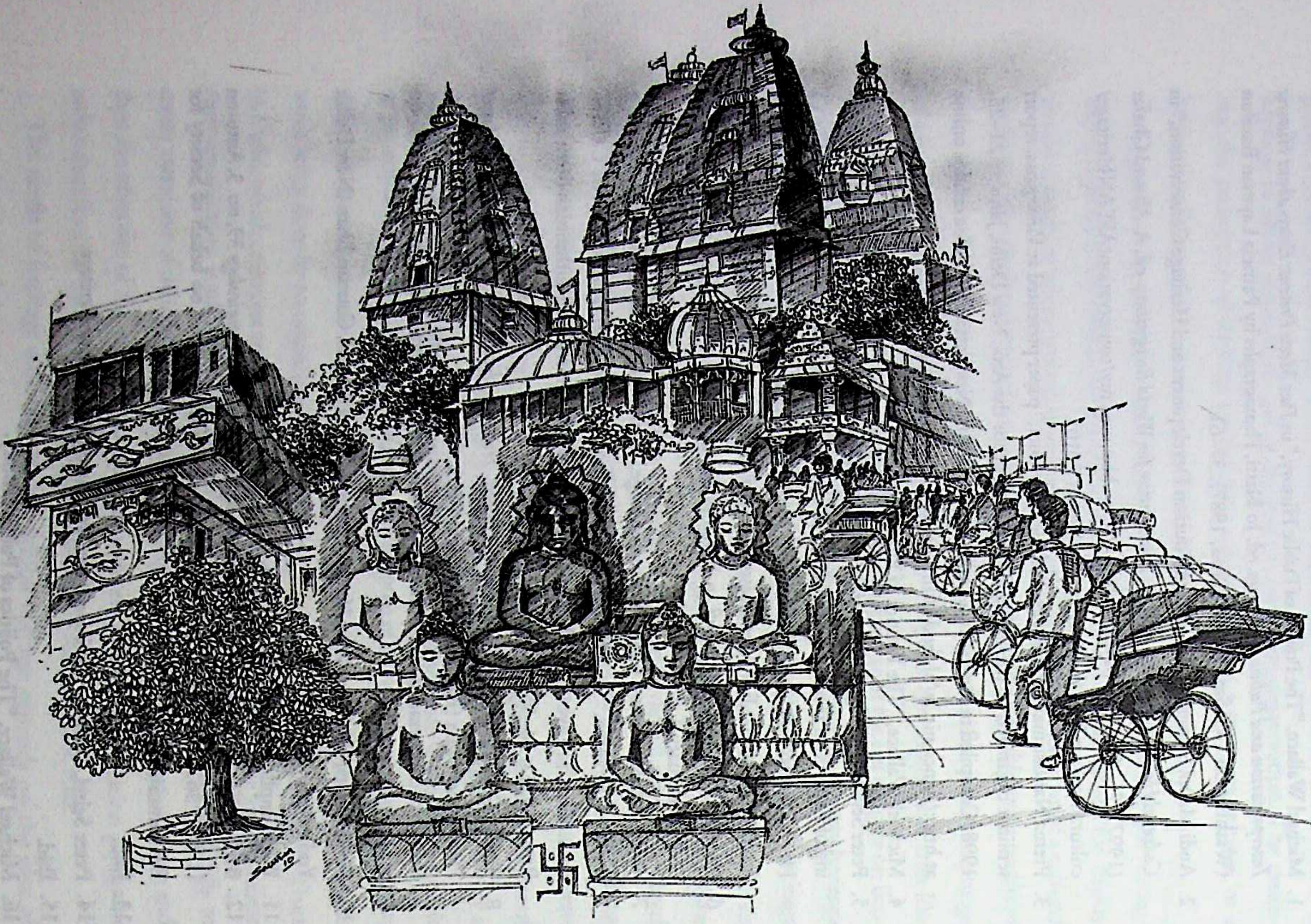

Digambar Jain Mandir (Urdu Mandir), Chandni Chowk

CHAPTER II

Functionality, Designing, and Executing Walking Tours

Formulating cultural displays as an expression of exhibiting is both an art and a tool for conserving heritage. Cultural displays of heritage can take numerous and varied forms, and walking tours is one of them. The concept of the walking tour will be first analyzed, and all the technical details that go into categorizing walking tours not only as a "living exhibit" but much more as an activity of applied heritage will be discussed in this chapter.

At this point, I would like to refer to the manner in which much critical literature has been produced to review the technical nuances in which cultural displays of and on India have been historically designed, the objective they served, and the purpose for which they were meant. Of the many exhibits on India, there are three main exhibits that I would refer to, namely, the Colonial and India Exhibition of 1886 in London, the series of Festivals of India in several countries a hundred years later in the 1980s, and the organization and creation of cultural extravaganzas as "Exhibition Complex" that incorporated showcasing, festivals, and sales as "Apna Utsav."[1] The first two exhibits, that of the Colonial and India Exhibition and the series of Festivals of India, staged in different parts of the world were "singular logistical achievements of their milieu; the former belongs to a particular era of imperial consolidation, and the latter to the temporal cusp of a nation entering a newly wrought global economy."[2] In both, the exhibition images of India were artificially created in an environment outside the country. Structures and designs were lodged, "authentic" people and their traditions were "showcased" in a specific "exhibitionary complex" for a certain period of time, and, if I may say, for a certain purpose.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition was a grand exhibit as part of the series of World Exhibitions in the late 19th century and first half of the 20th century. It is observed that "from 1886 onwards, the Indian Courts became successively more extravagant and profligate arenas of display."[3] Breckenridge has pointed out that the exhibitions need to be seen as an elaborate cultural screen to legitimize and sublimate for imperial consciousness what was basically the repressive and exploitative political economy of the empire.[4] In the exhibition of 1886, critics felt unsettled by the phenomenon of displaying ethnological living beings, as is discussed by Saloni Mathur, who, quoting Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, writes that it is one thing "to construct an ethnographic object in a text or to display an anthropological artifact behind glass: It is quite another when people are themselves the medium of ethnographic representation, when they perform themselves—when they become living signs of themselves."[5] In the same article, Mathur traces the journey and story of:

> marginal Indian men inducted into the living display—prison inmates from Agra and a homeless Punjabi peasant in London in which she shows not only how "natives" were constituted by dominant discourses but also how the historical subjects of ethnological display refused the terms of their representation. [Mathur suggests, by tracing the stories she depicts, that the] men, however, the living display would rigidly inscribe their participation in public life, transforming them into ethnic commodities and rendering their bodies available for European consumption.

Her paper points to the idea of the incompleteness of the analyses of exhibitions when the stories of the protagonists have remained largely "unseen." In many ways it is a recall of what the subaltern historians did, which was to recount history from below. By doing that, Mathur tries to complete the story of the colonial exhibition of India.

A hundred years later, the series of Festivals of India launched in various countries can be seen, as mentioned above, from a different perspective. However, I would like to review the perspective of how the aspect of making them "living exhibits" was different to the exhibits in the colonial days. Arindam Dutta writes:

> I am led to conclude that the Festivals, like the Exhibitions, were something of a contradictory enterprise. Intended as an industrial and financial come-hither impetus, the tactics were to maintain India as singular *exotic* entity in a space of difference, but one which was capable nonetheless of appropriating the international space.[6]

Dutta analyzes by quoting some bureaucrats that the objective of the Festivals of India in the United States was in one way an effort to change the image of India as a country that is not only *exotic* but also "modern and competent." Taking off from this analysis, I would like to present here the views of Rajeev Sethi, the main director of several exhibits in the various Festivals of India, especially the Aditi Exhibit and Mela (Indian Fair) at the Smithsonian Mall as part of the Festival of India in 1985. The exhibition and the *mela* were incorporated in the main format, which has been set at the Smithsonian for several decades and is defined as a specific genre of "living exhibit." I would like to provide a small background of that genre.

The concept of "living exhibit" refers to the organization of a structured exhibit in a defined area. The exhibit usually has an ethnographic focus and incorporates aspects of living heritage. An acclaimed example of this is the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. An annual exhibit, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival represents living cultural heritage from across the United States and around the world. Produced by the Smithsonian Museum's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage in Washington, DC, it is an attempt to functionally take "museology outward, to connect with the public and its constituencies ..."[7] It is with this in mind that S. Dillon Ripley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution from 1964 to 1984, said: "Take the instruments out of their cases and let them sing." Richard Kurin, former director of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, has described the Smithsonian Festival as follows: "The Festival is organized every summer for two weeks around the Fourth of July, on the National Mall of the United States in Washington D.C., in cooperation with the National Park Service. The Festival is organized to increase and diffuse knowledge about grassroots culture ..."[8]

The Festival includes international and regional cultures that are researched and put together by folklorists, anthropologists, and other cultural public academicians.

> To date, the Festival has featured exemplary tradition bearers ... In any one year there may be three or four major programs. Each program is akin to an exhibition in one of the museums, having its own space (about two football fields for large programs), conceptual integrity, signage, performance stages, and demonstration areas. A good-sized program consists of about a hundred musicians, craftspeople, cooks, workers, and storytellers, and about ten lay and academic presenters or facilitators who help provide background information and introductions and who may translate, ask, and answer questions.[9]

I would like to quote from a very interesting work that Rajeev Sethi gave me when I asked him for an interview on his work and ideas of "Exhibiting India." This book called *Scrapbook* is an unpublished record of Sethi's lifelong work. In one of the pages was a long article titled "The Politics: Why the Exhibitions?" I begin to quote most of the article in order to contrast this exhibit with the colonial exhibition of 1886 where the "living exhibit" was, as analyzed by Saloni Mathur, a sad, exploitative subaltern history of the humans exhibited.

> For the Indian folk artists, Aditi and Mela were not merely exhibitions. The core group of participants were members of a cooperative, Bhule Bisre Kalakar (forgotten and neglected artists), living as squatters in a makeshift tent-and-shanty village in Shadipur on the outskirts of Delhi. These poor, low-caste musicians, puppeteers, jugglers, acrobats and street performers and their families came from all over India. At the same time that such artists sought new patrons and audiences, popular forms of entertainment—the Indian cinema, radio and more recently television and videos—lessened the public demand for traditional performance. Under Indian law, The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, street performing artists are regarded as beggars. They are subject to at least harassment if not arrest. Their art is regarded as a pretense, a mere pretext to solicit alms. In the mid-1970s they were viewed as part of the illiterate, vulgar, urban slum-dwelling population engaged in nonproductive activity. The irony is clear to many of the artists, who perceive themselves as keeping alive valued traditions. The bahrupiya

impersonators invoke the power of the gods to play their roles, the puppeteers inspire the young with tales of history, valor, and still-held Indian ideals, and acrobats preserve in their movements and feats the ancient yogic asanas, or poses. In Shadipur they built a squatter's camp on unused public land and began to rebuild their lives. They formed a cooperative, the purpose of which was to secure a legitimate place in Indian society. The cooperative advocated their right to practice their art and build homes upon the land they occupied. Bolstered by the talent of designer Rajeev Sethi, the support of folklorist and government advisor Pupul Jayakar, and many others, this community has sought recognition of its role and rights to its land and livelihood through political action, cottage industry and artistic exhibitions. The guiding philosophy of these artists has been that recognition of the value of their artistic and cultural achievements will bestow benefits on them as practitioners. The exhibitions in Washington as well as Aditi's two previous incarnations in Delhi (1978) and London (1982) were conceived by Rajeev Sethi and considered by him, by artists from Shadipur, and by the Smithsonian's Charles Blitzer, Ralph Rinzler and Jeffrey LaRiche (at that time respectively Assistant Secretary, Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Folklife Programs) to be a means to this end. The exhibitions were not diversions from reality but tools for its reconstruction. That reconstruction, as it emerged in the cooperative and continues to evolve, envisions an economically and aesthetically viable role for the exemplary practice of traditional arts.

At the Smithsonian, the massive media attention—network television, *News Week*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, National Public Radio—huge crowds, critical acclaim and comments by George Schultz, Mary McFadden, Ravi Shankar and many others forced a recognition of the artistic and cultural achievement of these folk artists. Despite their tenuous survival, the verbal, musical, and material artistry was exemplary and still grounded in community life. When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited the Aditi exhibition he acknowledged the participating folk artists as India's "foremost cultural ambassadors." This transformation of status was not lost on the people from Shadipur, who a decade earlier had been regarded with contempt by Indian officials. In India, the success of the exhibitions led Prime Minister Gandhi to promise to work for revocation of the beggary law affecting folk artists. He also promised to help the people of Shadipur obtain title to their land. The Government of India initiated a National Cultural Festival and established various regional centers for the study and presentation of the folk arts. High volume sales of Indian handicrafts through the Smithsonian convinced Indian government corporations of the viability of such items on the international market. The Handicrafts and Handlooms Export Corporation, which cosponsored Aditi and Mela, sought to revitalize its original Gandhian philosophy by supporting and strengthening folk artistic activity at the local level.[10]

The write-up goes onto to describe the plight of the returned artists:

> The expectations of individual folk artists who participated in Aditi and Mela have been raised. Some have directly benefited from their celebrity status upon returning to India. Others have fared less well.
>
> Overall, the publicity, attention and acclaim received by the Aditi and Mela participants has extended to their brethren and has helped in the battle to legitimize their role in Indian society and to insure their right to practice their art and in some cases, to own the land promised to them.[11]

From my own personal participation as a young classical dancer in one of the Festivals of India in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), I can vouch that the picture was not completely rosy for all the artists. I traveled with a large group of Kathak classical dancers, musicians, and a group of indigenous dancers from Madhya Pradesh, central India, to a large number of cities in the former USSR. The dancers from the remote parts of India were given training in using modern facilities such as lights, air conditioners, toilets, and eating at a dining table with cutlery. During the tour I had made friends with some of them. On returning to India after about a year, I met one of the indigenous dancers who had returned with significant amount of earnings. The dancer told me that although he was given education on money management, he felt completely out of place in his own habitat in the jungles. For the three months that he had lived a life of an urban king, he had felt displaced and unhappy. He did not possess any modern skill to live a life in an urban town or exist in a market economy.

There is no doubt that the Festivals did, on one hand, serve to change the life of several Indians otherwise living at the fringes of society, and on the other , as a tool of cultural diplomacy, they were also able to change the image of India to certain extent. The efforts did make an impact on the popularity of traditional arts and crafts, and in that sense, the efforts of the Festivals to promote the development of traditional communities did occur to a certain extent, as we have seen in the excerpt from Rajeev Sethi's *Scrapbook*.

The formats of the colonial exhibits, the Festivals of India, and the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, were such that these exhibits were defined by open spaces such as wide pavilions or parks rather than the closed space of a museum; they were in character essentially structured in a foreign space, barring the exhibition-cum-sale category of Apna Utsav (our *mela*), which was an exhibit again artificially created but organized in India. The exhibits were, in other words, structured as an explicit "exhibitionary complex." They played, I would say, the same role as the exhibits in a museum, of which Tony Bennett in his essay "The Exhibitionary Complex," writes that at one point, museums as exhibitionary complexes played the role of exhibitionary institutional forms, that they were "a complex of disciplinary and power relations," designed to educate and instruct an audience using the techniques of demonstration and display.[12] Except for the exhibits, both the Festivals of India as well as the living exhibit called Apna Utsav did have a component of sales of traditional crafts and arts. They were therefore a part of a new category of an exhibition–festival–sale format. Yet they were "living exhibits," though, at the same time, the exhibits are "a gray zone where display, retailing, and festivity shade into one another."[13] The Festivals and the Apna Utsav were regenerations of the museum experience in festival form, harnessed by the Indian state in its effort to define national, regional, and ethnic identity. While the Festivals of India in the 1980s were a vehicle for the cultural display of India in foreign nations and cities, Apna Utsav in 1986 was an indigenized internal festival with an elaborate national and regional administrative structure. This was a part of a vast state-sponsored network for local and interregional displays of art, folklore, and clothing; these spectacles of ethnicity were also meant to influence cultural literacy and satisfy the visual curiosity for exhibition-cum-sales. "What is thus emerging in India, and seems to be a relatively specialized cultural complex, is a world of objects and experiences that ties together visual pleasure, ethnic and national display, and consumer appetite."[14]

On speaking with Rajeev Sethi, the main designer of Apna Utsav, I discovered an important aspect in relation to the festival.

> As a pilot Rajeev Gandhi possessed an aerial eye. It was important to initiate a movement that would represent the effort on the part of the Government and the people to preserve and protect our rich cultural heritage and to bring it closer to the lives of the people. The festival was along with being an exhibition-sale format a symbol of the self-transforming civilization that defies any attempt to freeze it in space and time, living India is a mosaic of varied cultures, layer upon layer, tempered in a history of a common vitality. It was to encourage the evolution and consolidation

> of Indian culture by bringing its different streams closer and by making people of various regions know and understand each other's distinctive traits in a spirit of appreciation and acceptance of the unity in diversity within this country. What was most important however in the planning of the festival exhibit was the objective to set up the Zonal Cultural Centers.[15]

The Zonal Cultural Center Initiative was one of the important follow-up programs to be seen as an effort to provide directions to the cultural heritage of different regions of India. This of course will be discussed later as a part of developing follow-up programs from living exhibits.

"India: The Living Arts," organized by the Canadian Museum of Civilization in 2000, was another effort to curate a "living exhibit." However, unlike the annual Smithsonian Festival and the Festivals of India, this was just a one-time exhibit. The exhibit showcased the rich diversity of India's many artistic traditions by placing these artifacts in a series of four environments: the city, the village, the home, and the court. Each environment evoked a different aspect of culture and daily life in India and provided a setting for the display of various types of craft and artistry. Music, dance, drama, and other animation enhanced each of the environments at regular intervals, enveloping visitors in a culture with ancient roots that continue to influence and inform its modern reality.[16]

These examples of the "living exhibit" are structured expressions of cultural displays and representations. "The Smithsonian Folklife festival has not only emerged as a genre of cultural display perfected over time,"[17] it has evolved as a statement of cultural democracy in terms of the participation of tradition bearers and their audience. In the exhibit on India in 1985, the model incorporated the display of India within that specific configuration. However, it must be remembered that in terms of the environment to display heritage, the festival is staged, planned, and structured as a formal exhibit. It is the inclusion and participation of tradition bearers, that is, the living human component, that provides such structured exhibits a realistic, unpredictable element and qualifies them as "live exhibits." Something Rajeev Sethi wrote in his *Scrapbook* was: "… In short, folk arts and Folklife (particularly that of India) suggest aesthetic and organizational notions at odds with generic museum exhibitions. It makes sense for our presentational formats to highlight the distinctive features of the arts and cultural activities we exhibit."

> While the Smithsonian planned the exhibitions to be living ones, the Indian folk artists really meant it. The registrar for the Aditi exhibition did not expect to see new objects come into the exhibit every day. Participants would hang new items on the walls or place them on stands or platforms. The Warli wall painter ran out of room to paint in his designated area—so he continued down the hallway ... So too did the performing artists throughout the exhibition expand beyond their boundaries. The Aditi *bahurupiya* [impersonators] would often leave the exhibit hall to wander through the museum and inflict their impersonations on the unknowing, much as they do in India ... The monkey men of Mela, *langur bahurupiya*, would hide in trees, throw branches onto the crowds, scamper, and yell as befit their role. My daily exhortations to them—"Get down from there." "The trees on the mall are national monuments." "You will be arrested by the National Park Service Police"—were taken not as official warnings or as stage directions but as straight lines to be incorporated into the performance routine for the enjoyment of the audience.[18]

What I propose in this book is to introduce the display of heritage through walking tours as a new category of the "living exhibit." The distinctiveness of this living exhibit is what I will proceed to explore. A walking tour, unlike the exhibits at the Smithsonian or the Festivals of India or Apna Utsav (Our Festival), is an exhibit organized in a naturally existent cultural space. The audience literally walks into the space and becomes a part of the prevailing real and dynamic lived environment rather than an artificially created, temporary one. The chosen environment for walking tours could be the closed spaces of a monument complex, museum galleries, or the work culture within and of a particular institution. It could be open spaces such as bazaars, a river front, a forest, a lake, a funeral ground, a village, or a historic part of a town. The landscapes may or may not have a built heritage but they will certainly have a vibrant index of the intangible heritage. In all "living exhibits," human beings become central to the concept of heritage. The culturalscapes showcased encompass arrays of living cultures that are grafted onto these landscapes through the sands of time. These living traditions exist on various levels—as the heritage of work cultures, lifestyles, and rituals, or as part of written and oral histories. The latter are manifested as virtual and real memories in the minds of the community that lives and works around the built environment or is encased in the walls of the habitat of the built areas and the very air of the open landscape, or consists of real, dynamic activities that permeate the landscape. As mentioned earlier, the livingness of the exhibit is brought about by the images that emerge not only in the manner the audience sees and interacts with the human beings as representatives and carriers of tradition, but also, the enlargement of the story of the culturalscape is communicated by the images that define the environment the traditions and heritage live and exist in. The impressions of the images are honed by other sensibilities such as smells, sounds, touch, and so on that make the experience of heritage holistic. Hence, the walking tours are not mere living exhibits or an extension of what is discussed as aspects of mere visual encounter, but they are rather holistically sensory and a more integrated experience of a cultural production "in a natural dynamic space and environment."

For the experience to be comprehensive, the equation between the study leader and the audience remains critical to the concept of walking tours as living exhibits. The process of making the audience a part of the culturalscape is a well defined and gradual one. To build an effective narrative that will bring alive the essence of a culturalscape requires detailed research and planning on the part of the study leader; hence, underlying the entire process of designing the walking tour is the central modus operandi of visualization of a culturalscape and recreating the story of what is to be shown and interpreted.

> That the visual turn is not a return to *naïve* mimesis, copy or correspondence theories of representation, or a reviewed metaphysics of pictorial "presence". It is rather a post-linguistic, post-semiotic re-discovery of the image as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourses, bodies, and figurality.[19]

The exercise of the experience of the walking tour is a general study of representation; the walking tours on one level are a discourse on representation of an entire *parampara* of heritage pulled out from the past and presented in the present, sometimes even visualizing its future.

A certain methodology defines the process of creating a walk as cultural production; for instance, the first step is to select a theme or a title for the exhibit followed by charting out the route of the tour for the audience. The next is for the group to arrive in the area and be physically in the midst of a culturalscape. The process of linking the participant with the culturalscape is on two levels. An initial introduction to the exhibit prepares the participant mentally for what is to come, but the first initiative is self-driven. The mere journey of the audience into a culturalscape orients the mind of the participant into the landscape; she begins to conjure images and interpret them in accordance to her own personal mindset. After this, the participant gradually enters the mindscape of the environment not only with what she personally carries and naturally absorbs on her own but also with the images that begin to be created by the narrative and performance of the presenter. The participant then begins to empathize with the environment. The study leader introduces the culturalscape and, in the course of her narrative, highlights elements that are appropriate to the theme of the walking tour. She walks the audience through the dynamic cultural landscape exposing one canvas after another, calling upon all the resources of being a performer, and in turn delivering the performed narrative. The entire exercise is akin to walking a film. The study leader sometimes invites a member of the community to talk of his/her heritage. This involvement of communities, being spontaneous and unplanned, creates unexpectedness, an element of drama. Thus, walking tours become systematized, designed cultural displays that reinvent themselves to become living exhibits. They are characterized by spontaneity and dynamism, unexpected elements inevitably adding to the living exhibit. There is a "livingness" not only in the texture of the exhibit but also in the manner the participant links with the dynamic heritage in which she comes to be a part.

Although they may appear to be quite different, the two categories of living exhibits, namely, the Festivals and the walking tours, have much in common. Central to both categories of living exhibits is the place of human beings. Even when the walking tour is on architecture or on biodiversity in a forest, it is the human stories and human activities pertaining to histories, politics, economics, and so on that are central to the exhibiting.

I will proceed to describe the "human element" and the unexpected additional experience it produced in one of my productions. I had designed a walk titled "Bazaars of Old Delhi." The focus of the tour was to showcase the cultural heritage of present-day work cultures in Old Delhi. One canvas of the exhibit was the camera market. In that particular market, there are about 200 shops that deal with all kinds of cameras, camera parts, photographic accessories, and technical services. The market has a small shopkeepers' society. S. C. Sethi has a shop opening out on to the main street of Old Delhi called Chandni Chowk. He is also the secretary of the camera shop owners' society. I therefore requested him to speak about the heritage of the camera market. Mr Sethi, a short and stout gentleman, was most willing to oblige. He stood behind the cash counter near the door of his tiny first floor of his narrow two-storey shop and started to speak to us. He delivered his narrative on the culture of the camera market in a highly animated, authoritative manner. He spoke about the history of the market, the social class and caste structure, the general work culture, and the changes, related to the growth in the market, the services, and in the field of photography. Tracing the history of the market, he told us that the market started as part of the refugee resettlement program soon after the Partition of India in 1947. He said that that at one time, there were no official photographers in the Government of India. It was the photographers from the camera market who were assigned the task of taking official photographs to document important government events and capture on film the eminent personalities of the time. Turning to me, he addressed me in Hindi thus:

> *Are bitiyan, yahan par sab trah ke camera theek ho jate hain. Har trah ki cheez camera ya photography se judi ho woh mil jati hai. Aur to aur bitiyan! Zyada tar theek karne wale ladke zyada padhe likhe nahin hain. Ye dekhte hain, karte hain aur ustad ban jate hain! Yeh is market ki kuch hari bhari dastan hain.*
>
> [O! my dear girl, in this market you can get any kind of camera fixed. Anything to do with camera or photographic equipment is available. And do you know, my girl, surprisingly enough the boys who repair cameras are hardly educated or trained. They watch, observe, practice and become experts! That, in brief, is the colorful story, the living culture of this market.][20]

By involving community participation, multiple objectives, apart from the central aspect of cultural representation, are served. The walk aims to create self-respect for the heritage in the minds of the communities that either carry it or are living with the heritage. This was clearly evident in Mr Sethi's participation in the camera market. While the audience was educated and entertained with oral histories, the tradition bearer exhibited a pride and forced the audience to recognize the value of the heritage of the camera market; his involvement provided an authentic self-cultural representation for the work culture of the camera market.

As he spoke, Mr Sethi continuously brought out some amazing photographs that recounted events that had taken place in that area. One set of photographs recorded the political rallies held during the 21-month period of Emergency imposed by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, between June 1975 and March 1977. That was a particularly troubled time in Indian politics and Mr Sethi described the drama of the rallies with great passion. Suddenly we were distracted by some commotion near the entrance to his shop. It was a group of *hijras* (eunuchs) demanding an "inam"—a reward on the recent birth of Mr Sethi's grandson. They then appealed to all of us to contribute to the *baksheesh* (tip). I took this as an ideal opportunity to introduce the audience to another feature of Indian culture, where it is customary for the *hijras* to sing and dance and bless a newlywed couple or a new born baby. In return, they expect a token as *baksheesh*. I asked them to speak to the audience about themselves, their way of life, their mores and customs. The leader of the group obliged and said:

> My name is Gulab Bai. At one time we were living in the neighborhood of Lal Kuan here in Old Delhi. But as time went by and this area became more and more commercial, we sold our prized land and moved away. Today we sing and dance at any auspicious occasion, and bless the family with our benign presence. Now, the money Sahab will give us today is the price of our blessings. In the olden days, we were the bodyguards of the harems in royal courts, but today we are not that respected. We have to fight for our self-respect, sometimes we become rather aggressive, but what to do, it's a matter of our survival after all!!![21]

Members of the audience asked them several questions, some even ended up giving them a token amount as prize money.

Not only do these unexpected and impromptu human interventions create drama in the cultural displays, they also act as tools of understanding complex human relationships in the cultural context. They also provide an insight into the association of a city with its culturalscapes. As such, the living exhibit becomes a platform and a mechanism for the cultural representation of various identities "... displaying a selection of images, metaphors and narratives deriving from broader realms of popular culture."[22] The expansion of an understanding emerged not only that of the camera market but also the lifestyles in which the communities lived in that space. The inclusion of the human elements added to the entire experience of the culturalscape and heritage.

One of the biggest differences between a living exhibit and a static one, as one in a gallery, for instance, is that the element of variability and unanticipated occurrences is much higher, because of which the presenter has to be on her toes and learn to think on her feet. The challenge in live exhibits unfolds itself as a dynamic reality. The presenter may have interacted and coordinated with representatives of communities and prepared them to tell the story of their heritage, yet unexpected interventions of actors in the open cultural space can occur. This lends the living exhibit the character of an

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impromptu performance stage. The presenter has to be prepared to innovate, interact with tradition bearers, and weave their narratives into the central theme of the walk.

Since the presenter is not always fully in control of a living exhibit in a specific outdoor culturalscape, unlike the curator of an exhibit in a closed environment like a museum or gallery or even a classroom, the challenge before the presenter is much greater. The trial of lecturing by the public intellectual in an outdoor space in contrast to closed classroom oration is therefore a challenge inherent in a living exhibit. First, the audience in a classroom can be more or less synergized. The participants in a walk or a folk festival are often of different age groups, from diverse backgrounds, and with varied levels of understanding of the culturalscape that is showcased. Second, while the closed room audience is isolated in a space where the academic creates the atmosphere and lets the students travel mentally, in the open space the audience becomes part of the cultural environment. The open space appears as a series of moving canvases.

The public intellectual leading the walk or the presenter of a certain tradition in a festival has to be quite alert and bring in elements that may not have been part of the original plan of the walk or the festival. To illustrate this point, an account of another walking exhibit titled "Rising India—Bazaars of Old Delhi" would be appropriate. The editors of the *Financial Times*, London, were in Delhi for business meetings and had just two and half hours for sightseeing. Their Indian representatives recommended the Jafa Walks and requested me to design and execute a heritage walk especially for them. I was informed about their interest in the image of "Rising India," so I decided to showcase, once again, the bazaars of Old Delhi but with a completely different perspective.

On reaching Old Delhi, I discovered that the Ram Lila celebrations were on, and on that particular day, preparations were being made for the Bharat Milap episode from the Ramayana. Every year during the 10-day festival of Dussehra, scenes from the very popular epic, the Ramayana, are enacted in different performing traditions all over India. The Bharat Milap episode—that is, the meeting of the brothers, Ram and Bharat—depicts the return of the exiled king, Ram, to his kingdom of Ayodhya, after defeating the evil King Ravana, ruler of Lanka. Bharat, who has been taking care of the kingdom in the absence of Ram, the real king, goes to receive his brother in a huge and grand procession. Many cities of India organize similar elaborate processions to mark the event. The walk I designed that day coincided with this important event, which was crucial to the calendar of events in Old Delhi and an inherent part of its present-day culture.

We started our walk with a visit to the Digambar Jain Temple situated at the beginning of Chandni Chowk, the Central Street of Old Delhi. Old Delhi today is known as a vibrant business and commercial area, and the Jains were the predominant business community since the 17th century, when the present Old Delhi was built. I introduced the participants to Jainism and the tenets of the religion, which is marked by a respect for all living creatures, of which one major aspect is translating this respect into practicing a specific type of vegetarianism. The Jains do not eat onion, garlic, and other root vegetables. They also do not eat after sunset. I explained this in the context of the development of the business of street cuisine prevalent in the area, which is food served without onions and garlic. Of course, much has changed now. My narrative highlighted the business practices of the Jains and led the audience through several markets.

What caught their imagination was the visit to the bullion market—Kuncha Mahajan. Shri Premji, secretary of the Bullion Market Merchants Association, proudly spoke of the nature of the bullion market. He said: "There are fifteen hundred shops in the close-knit neighborhood, and there is only one exit and entry point."[23] With great enthusiasm he explained the basic principles about the trading of gold and silver in India and the importance of the market in its role in the gold and silver trade in Delhi and North India. Premji then asked one of the boys in his fancy air-conditioned jewelry shop to accompany us to his own work room from where he conducted the bullion trade. Naked electric wires hanging out like octopus limbs marked our way up a winding staircase to the tiny 14 feet by 10 feet room. Two men dressed in crisp white kurta-pajamas were sitting on the floor on mattresses covered with a stark white sheet. The room was decorated with calendar posters of Lakshmi and Ganesh, the Hindu gods associated with wealth and prosperity, and some framed photographs of the ancestors of the family. On one side was a small house temple decorated with fancy Chinese lights. Inside, an oil lamp burned in front of the idol of a calendar art picture of Lakshmi and Ganesh. The men were busy monitoring trading of the precious metals on a computer. When we entered, they explained to us the technicality of trading and then one of them opened a small safe and took out a gold biscuit, which we were not only shown but were also allowed to touch.

After I had formally finished my "planned" walk in the Kinari Bazaar, the street specializing in clothing accessories like gold and silver trimmings, laces, and decorations, among many other things, I rushed to incorporate the viewing of the religious procession at Dariba Kalan or the silver market. It was imperative that the audience experienced the religious procession so that that they could understand that in India, religion and commerce went hand in hand. I told them that business associated with religion was one of the largest unorganized business sectors in India. In this context, I referred to the work of Kajri Jain on analyzing the relationship of Indian gods and commerce in a bazaar culture. Indian gods are transmitted as images in bazaar art and are imprinted on product covers, calendars, acquiring a moral and commercial value. In her essay, Jain writes of her attempt to articulate the manner in which these images, which communicate moral–ethical value and exemplify the interface of exchange from the precolonial to the post-independence periods, are now intricately layered into the crosshatching of business culture in post-liberalization India.[24] I linked Jain's analyses of the images of gods in bazaars to the live replay of the gods in the procession of Bharat Milap that they were about to witness.

On reaching the street of Dariba Kalan (silver market), the world assumed a different feel. The streets were brightly lit; people were lined up along the narrow street. On the road to Dariba Kalan was the procession of Lord Ram with his wife Sita, younger brother Lakshman, and his devotee Hanuman, the monkey god, riding on a tractor. The procession was led by a small group of musicians playing the *shehnai* (a wind instrument used for auspicious occasions). I told my audience that traditionally, *shehnai* players were mostly Muslims or from the lower castes. Their inclusion in the most sacred ceremonies reversed the caste rules of purity and pollution. Priests in front of the divine personalities on the same carriage were conducting various rituals and people were showering flowers on the divinities. This procession was heading toward the main road of Chandni Chowk where it would meet the other procession of Ram's brother, Bharat. At the crossroad, the brothers Ram and Bharat would get off their chariots and embrace each other in a joyous reunion.

The other procession, namely, that of Ram's brother, Bharat, was accompanied by bands, lights, loud music, flowers, and firecrackers. The difference was that Bharat and the divinities accompanying him were not on a tractor but on bullock carts. In the first bullock cart, Lord Shiva was sitting on the sacred mountain of Kailash and his son, the elephant god Ganesh, was astride a huge mouse.[25] It was rather surprising to see Lord Shiva, riding a bullock cart, speaking on a Samsung mobile phone. For the audience, it was a thrilling exposure to "India Rising"! In fact, these images seemed to show that even the Indian gods were "Rising." It is usually this kind of unplanned, dramatic aspect of human activity which, when woven into the narrative and incorporated into the visual exhibit, remains imprinted on the mind as a highlight of the walking tour. People all along the path of the gods raised their hands in solemn prayers and many showered flowers. The priests seated along with the gods blessed the people with flowers, many people told the participant in the walk that they would place the blessed flowers in altars in their shops and houses. Live images of gods in the streets and public spaces of the bazaar had now created a sacred commercial space where both businessmen and clients stood together. The blessings of the moving gods would lend and invigorate the spirit of their private commercial spaces; each shopkeeper raised his hands thanking the gods for a hopeful tomorrow in his commercial ventures.

The fact that India has a hoary civilization and a long and complex history makes most spaces heterogeneous, whether it the culturalscape of cities, villages, forests, or mountains, and these are repositories of multiple layers of cultures. As such, walking tours specifically and living exhibits in general serve to revitalize local heritage as well as create an awareness of its value to a city or a nation.[26] To elaborate this point, I cite the creation of a walking exhibit titled "Delhi Walk and the Dining Opera." The culturalscape featured a section of Old Delhi that covered Ajmeri Gate, Hauz Qazi, and Bazaar Sita Ram. The exhibit began with a walk from the Anglo Arabic School in Ajmeri Gate and ended with a special dinner, "The Dining Opera," in the *haveli* (a traditional courtyard house) of Begum Samru in Kuncha Mai Das. I began my presentation of the walk with a description of the Anglo Arabic School. The narrative of this fascinating institution prompted questions of education in relation to Islamic culture, and the coexistence of such an institution in a by and large non-Islamic culturalscape.

I wanted to highlight the importance of madrassas not only as closed theological institutions but as part of a progressive identity that remained in coexistence with other multicultural religious identities. The purpose was to emphasize the contribution of such organizations to the creation of the syncretic cultural heritage of Delhi. The Anglo-Arabic School has survived over three centuries. Ghaziuddin Khan, an influential courtier and a general in the army of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb started an institution called the Ghaziuddin Madrassa in 1702. Though it was started as a seminary, it has since been serving the cause of education under the labels of Madarsa Ghaziuddin Khan, Anglo Arabic School, Anglo Arabic College, Delhi College, and Zakir Hussain College. The elegant building consists of a large enclosure of arched apartments with a gate on the east and a three-domed mosque on the west with an enclosure of perforated stone screens, both on the latter's north as well as south. Domes with octagonal towers against a backdrop of beautiful *jharokhas* (small overhanging balconies) and engravings gives a majestic view of the entire surroundings. Inside, there are two *hujras* (corridors) meant to be used as dormitories for the madrassa students of yore. In the center of the entire complex, is a park with lush green grass.

The British East India Company had, under Lord Lake, defeated the army of the Marathas who had given protection to Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, who ruled until 1806. The East India Company now controlled Delhi. It is in this relation that the English gradually gained influence on the political, social, and economic levels in Delhi. Until 1827, this madrassa was a religious seminary but under the growing power of the English, Sir Charles Metcalfe, the reigning resident, introduced the teaching of English, Mathematics, and the Natural Sciences. In fact, this is the first institution in which English was introduced by the British East India Company. The marble tablet on the chemistry lab of the school says: "Etemad-ud-Daula, Zia-ul-Mulk, Syed Fazal Ali Khan Bahadur Sahab Jung gave 1.70 lakh rupees for the propagation of this institution and gave it in the trust of the Company Bahadur in 1829." In 1840, the institution was shifted to the Darah Shikoh (named after Mughal Emperor Shahjahan's son) Library at Kashmere Gate. During the rebellion of 1857 by the Indians against the British East India Company, the institution remained closed for seven years and reopened only in 1867. At that time, the English christened it the Anglo Arabic College that later turned into Delhi College.

The real architectural sanctity of the monument comes to the beholder's eyes once he enters Masjid Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan, beautifully constructed in red sandstone. The students of the school pray here in the afternoon. The mosque once had a well and a tank connected to it for the purposes of *wajuh* (ablutions). There is a *mazaar* (mausoleum that is regarded as a shrine) of a saint in the northern side of the mosque. The school suffered during the revolt of 1857 when the science laboratories and the library were burnt, and along with the library, innumerable priceless manuscripts were reduced to ashes. As an institution of learning, the Anglo Arabic School was therefore a mute witness to the checkered history of the city; but neither violent events nor age has marred the glory of the institution. The sandstone structure remains unscathed. And the institution has evolved into a center of theological as well as secular learning. It has nurtured generations of students who have made their mark as leaders in various walks of life. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the eminent educationist and the founder of Aligarh Muslim University, Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first prime minister, Khwaja Ahmed Farooqui (littérateur), Prof. A. N. Kaul (pro-vice-chancellor, Delhi University), J. N. Dixit (defense analyst), Prof. Gopi Chand Narang (Urdu/Persian critic), and Pankaj Vohra (associate editor, *Hindustan Times*) are all the alumni of this institution. Today, along with religious instruction, the school imparts primary and secondary education to children from the walled city and from other parts of India.

The next destination on this walk was the 18th–19th century mosque in Hauz Qazi Chowk. The beautiful building is almost completely obscured by illegal construction and is almost not visible. The mosque has a beautiful water tank, stained windows, and arches bearing European influence. The walk into Bazaar Sita Ram was fascinating. Although today this is largely a commercial area, until the mid-20th century this was a residential neighborhood where a large number of elite Kashmiri families lived. They dominated the bureaucracy both in the Mughal as well as the British period. Several of them became professional lawyers, doctors, freedom fighters, and politicians. Their histories are yet to be recounted as memories and are now only reflected in some of the remaining dilapidated or deserted *havelis*. The walk proceeded toward a small winding lane in the neighborhood called Kuncha Mai Das. The entry to this lane was from the 84 bell temples dedicated to Lord Shiva. The walk ended at Begum Samru's *haveli* where the "Dining Opera" was organized.

Once the participants reached the *haveli*, they first took a tour of the grand mansion. Begum Samru was a courtesan who was sold to Walter Reinhardt, and she later married him. Reinhardt was an adventurer and a mercenary, in India about the mid-18th century. His nationality is uncertain. Some sources say that he was most likely an Austrian, although others suggest that he could be from France, Germany, or even Switzerland. His nickname was Sombre, but was then distorted to Samru. Begum Samru is said to have converted to Christianity and in addition to being a colorful character, she ended up being extremely powerful and was supposedly quite a favorite with the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, who regarded her as his sister. To establish her presence and assert her power and authority, Begum Samru built quite extensively in Delhi and other towns in the present state of Uttar Pradesh. The buildings included some large palatial houses and churches that included a basilica in Sardhana near the city of Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. The Mughal Emperor is known to have asked her for military assistance to subdue some uprisings. Begum Samru's *haveli* in Kuncha Mai Das was used by the Begum's army as a place for her artillery forces. It was later taken over by a merchant family with whom it remains even today. The *haveli* has an elaborately laid out plan, and retains some photographs of the merchant's family.

The audiences entered the *haveli* and were seated in the traditional Indian style—on mattresses on the floor of the huge, majestic front porch. The story of Begum Samru was narrated to the audience in the words of John Lall:

> Her name was Farzana. She was the daughter of a dancing girl who had been taken away from Chawri Bazar in Delhi to the Doab region by Asad Khan, a nobleman of Arabian origin (some say he was the Persian Nawab Latif Ali Khan), who made her his second wife. After the death of her husband, the young widow was driven out of the house by her stepson and returned to Delhi, living for some days near the Kashmere Gate and then moving on to the Jama Masjid area, where she died, leaving her daughter in the care of Khanum Jan, a *tawaif* of Chawri Bazaar. That was in 1760. Five years later, Walter Reinhardt Sumroo, then 45 years old, came to the red light area and fell for the charms of Farzana, then a girl of 14.[27]

The audiences were then served a five-course meal of traditional Delhi cuisine. Accompanying the meal were a variety of live performances. There was a performance by a *bahurupiya* (impersonator) who dressed and acted like Lord Shiva. There was also a *hakim* or a traditional Unani doctor. The doctor narrated the history and explained the practice of Unani medicine in Old Delhi and peppered the narrative with interesting anecdotes. His performance was followed by that of a *shair*, a traditional Urdu poet who sang beautiful verses on the spirit and the magic of the city of Delhi.

Later, a *dastango* (traditional storyteller) introduced his art form of *dastangoi* and then spoke of the primary narratives of his tradition—the tale of Dastaan-e-Ameer-Hamza and Umro-Ayyaar.

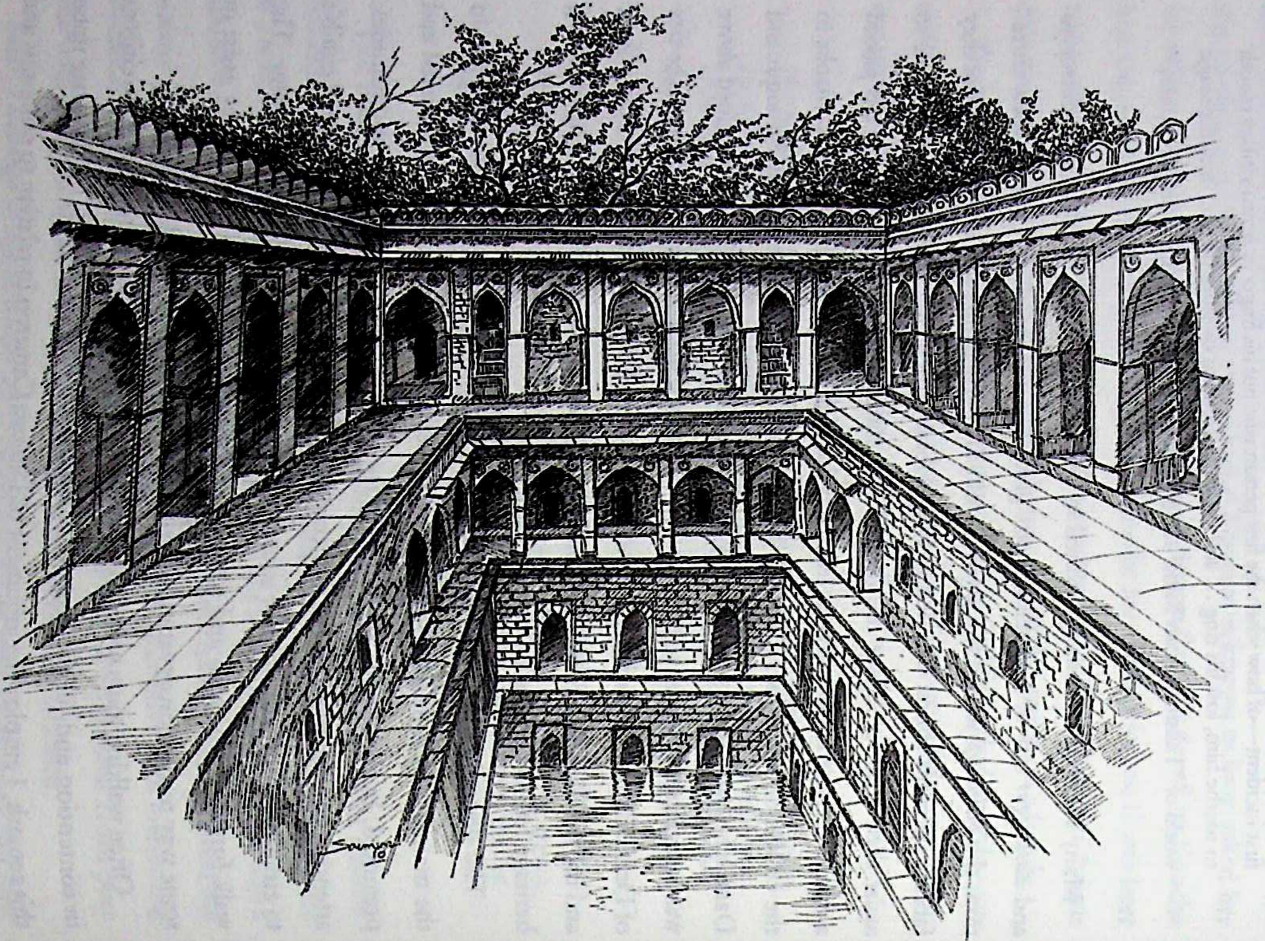
> The Dastaan-e-Ameer-Hamza is made of adventures of Amir Hamza and his friends Umroo and Muqbal Vafadar. Amir was reputed to have amazing prowess and acquired

> a towering reputation as a legendary warrior. This fictionalized account was irresistible and totally compulsive—once you got into it you never got out! It started with the near simultaneous birth of Amru and Amir Hamza, it set the tone with the description of the first incident—of how when the first person who put his finger in Amru's infant mouth to soothe him, lost his ring … and the narrative went on from there … into the magic world of "Talism-e-Hosh Ruba" full of fairies and jinns and magicians and sorcerers.[28]

Many of the traditions showcased in the "Dining Opera," such as the *bahurupiya* and *dastangoi* (art of storytelling), are gradually disappearing. Through their narration, the *bahurupiya* and the *dastango* told the participants about the difficulties they faced in present times. This led to some vibrant discussion of what could be done to assist their survival. Since the time of this cultural exhibit, the *dastango* has passed away, and there is no one now left from the traditional families. However, thanks to the efforts of some young theater professionals, especially Mahmood Farooqui and Danish Husain, the art has recently been revived. A walk like the one described above was an exhibit that unraveled aspects of the layered heritage that characterized the city of Delhi. Even as the edifices of the Anglo Arabic School, the mosque of Hauz Qazi, and the *haveli* of Begum Samru remain as rooted built structures, the intangible living heritage has to be recalled and recreated.

The designing of the living exhibit incorporates a well-thought-out structure in the manner the human stories and aspects of heritage have to be reconstructed and presented. In the very methodology of the reconstruction of traditions and histories, attention can be drawn of the audience like the above description of a cultural exhibit to either waning traditions or those that have already perished in sands of time. The walk functions to recall and reconstruct memories and in the process may assist in some way to the conservation of living traditions.

Often walking tours serve to put the differing perceptions of a nation and its citizens in contention and, in the process, emerge as a forum for debate. To elaborate upon this remark, I employ the argument of Duncan Cameron in relation to museums and to view the the walking tours as an effort to display heritage. He analyzes two different strands of thinking with respect to an art museum: the traditional one in which the museum is similar to a temple and a newer one that views the museum as a forum. As a temple, the museum, he wrote, plays a "timeless and universal function, the use of a structured sample of reality, not just as a reference but as an objective model against



Rajon ki Bain (Stepwell/Baoli), Mehrauli Archaeological Park which to compare individual perception." In contrast, as forum, the museum is a place for "confrontation, experimentation and debate."[29]

To elaborate the manner in which walks can become a forum, I go on to allude to an example of walks curated to showcase syncretism as an existent and lived reality in India. The walks were curated to address different groups of audiences in contemporary times; when polarization on religious lines has often led to imaging another religious group as "the other," the walks were deliberated to serve the purpose of countering the stereotyping of the image of that "other." Here I would like to begin with a small background of the Muslim–non-Muslim divide from the standpoint of an important political event in beginning of the 1990s.

On December 6, 1992, members of the rightist political parties engineered the destruction of a 16th century mosque, the Babri Masjid, built by an order of Babur, the first Mughal Emperor. This factor among several others contributed to the win of the Bharatiya Janata Party, a national party with rightist leanings, that then formed the government, with allies at the center. On one level they had adopted the same political strategy as the British—that of dividing Indian society into two groups, Muslims and non-Muslims, to gain votes. Politicization and polarization of cultural identities along religious lines has gradually become a popular way of conceptualizing the cultural identity of Muslims in India (especially in North India) by non-Muslims. Many people in several parts of India have begun to view Muslims as "the other." Of course, the global reality in contemporary times, with missions such as "fight against global terror," the global terror equated with the Muslims of the world, has only fueled the stereotyping of Muslims here in India.

Repeatedly I have, through the medium of walking tours, attempted to break this stereotyping. For instance, I was invited in 2003 to conduct a walking tour for about 150 class-VII children of a well-known school in Delhi. The main purpose was to introduce them to the lived Islamic culture. The children walked through an archaeological park where they saw the 16th century tomb and mosque of Jamali Kamali, all the while asking questions and expressing opinions quite openly with me. Several of them admitted that they had never seen or been inside a mosque. They were then taken to a stepwell, Rajon ki Bain, constructed during early 16th century by Lodi kings. The Lodis were an Afghan Muslim dynasty that ruled over Delhi between the mid-15th

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and mid-16th centuries. Our next stop was the *dargah* (hospice) of the 13th century Sufi saint, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. The walk ended with a concert of Sufi music presented by the children of traditional Sufi singers attached to the *dargah*.

The area around the Sufi shrine was not very clean, with open drains left uncovered by the municipal corporation. It was also a poor neighborhood. From the reactions of the children, I realized how distorted their perception of Muslim identity was. One of the girls remarked: "Madam, my parents say the Muslims are rather dirty!" Another child quipped: "I believe that! My parents too keep making similar remarks. See, this is how *they* live," pointing out to the unhygienic environment. I did try to tell them that what they believed was not true. I pointed out that the maintenance of public drains was not theirs but the government's responsibility. Further, I tried to tell them that religion was a personal choice and was part of personal space. "How does it bother any one what someone eats as long as he does not force you to eat the same?" I said; the children did listen to me attentively.

What was really ironical was what occurred in the next part of the walking tour. I had organized the tour such that it would end with a Sufi music concert. The rendering of the music was by the young children of Sufi singers (*qawwals' bachas*) residing in the Sufi *dargah*. The ironical part of the interaction between the Muslim children and the largely non-Muslim children was the fact that the children of the Muslim Sufi singers sang two small songs that spoke of devotion and compassion invoking both Allah and Hindu Gods. At the end of the walk there was a small picnic, and I had a chance to interact with the teachers. I spoke to them about the reactions of the children and their perception about Muslims. I warned them about the dangers of stereotyping and quoted from Amartya Sen's book:

> Not only are the implicit and twisted beliefs frequently the subject matter of racist jokes, ethnic slurs, they sometimes surface as grand theories. When there is an accidental correlation between cultural prejudice and social observation [no matter how casual], a theory is born, and it may refuse to die even after the chance correlation has vanished without a trace.[30]

I impressed upon them the need to broaden their students' understanding of other people and other groups. I appealed to them to convince the children that stereotyping of identities created not only distrust of the "other," but reduced whatever chances there may be of understanding the other group. I told the teacher that once they (the children) understood the commonalities between them and the other groups, young people would be encouraged to interact sensitively with the other social groups of which they are an inherent part. There was an extremely vibrant debate and most teachers agreed with my view.

In this manner, like the museums that Cameron analyzes, the walks have the potential to be transformed in a forum for experimentation and debate.

> The child cultivates self-images through all the experiences of childhood and gradually prepares a sense of identity … Basic trust in one's one origins implies a wide range of experiences, affiliations and activities that are available to a child, including religion, language, community, school, teacher, family, texts and socio-cultural and political contexts. The child internalizes all these by participating in the societal dialectic.[31]

In the debate on identities, I referred to the small research article of Latika Gupta. Gupta conducted a small survey of a sample of Hindu and Muslim children in a tuition center in Daryaganj, a traditional neighborhood in Old Delhi. It is one of the neighborhoods where the Muslims and Hindus live together and there are no ghettos of either community. She brought out the awareness of the "other" community by providing small exercises. She provided either group with ritual and symbolic objects and stories associated with the other community and gauged how much one group was aware and knowledgeable about the other. In her study, she found that while the Hindu children were by and large ignorant of the practices and rituals of Islam even when they live with Muslims both around their homes and in learning institutions, the Muslim children were aware of Hindu practices and rituals; they recognized all Hindu idols, and knew the Hindu myths. The Hindu children, however, "consolidated their religious identity in comparative framework by referring to Muslims as being different and the material used by Muslims as 'their'."[32] The walks as a cultural production, a living exhibit with school children to promote peace, on many occasions assumed the platform for encouraging constructive debates. As a tool for experiential learning, the walks, in the times in which we live, can assume an important role. Today, children are highly influenced by the media; what they hear and see involves large snippets and mid-16th centuries. Our next stop was the *dargah* (hospice) of the 13th century Sufi saint, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. The walk ended with a concert of Sufi music presented by the children of traditional Sufi singers attached to the *dargah*.

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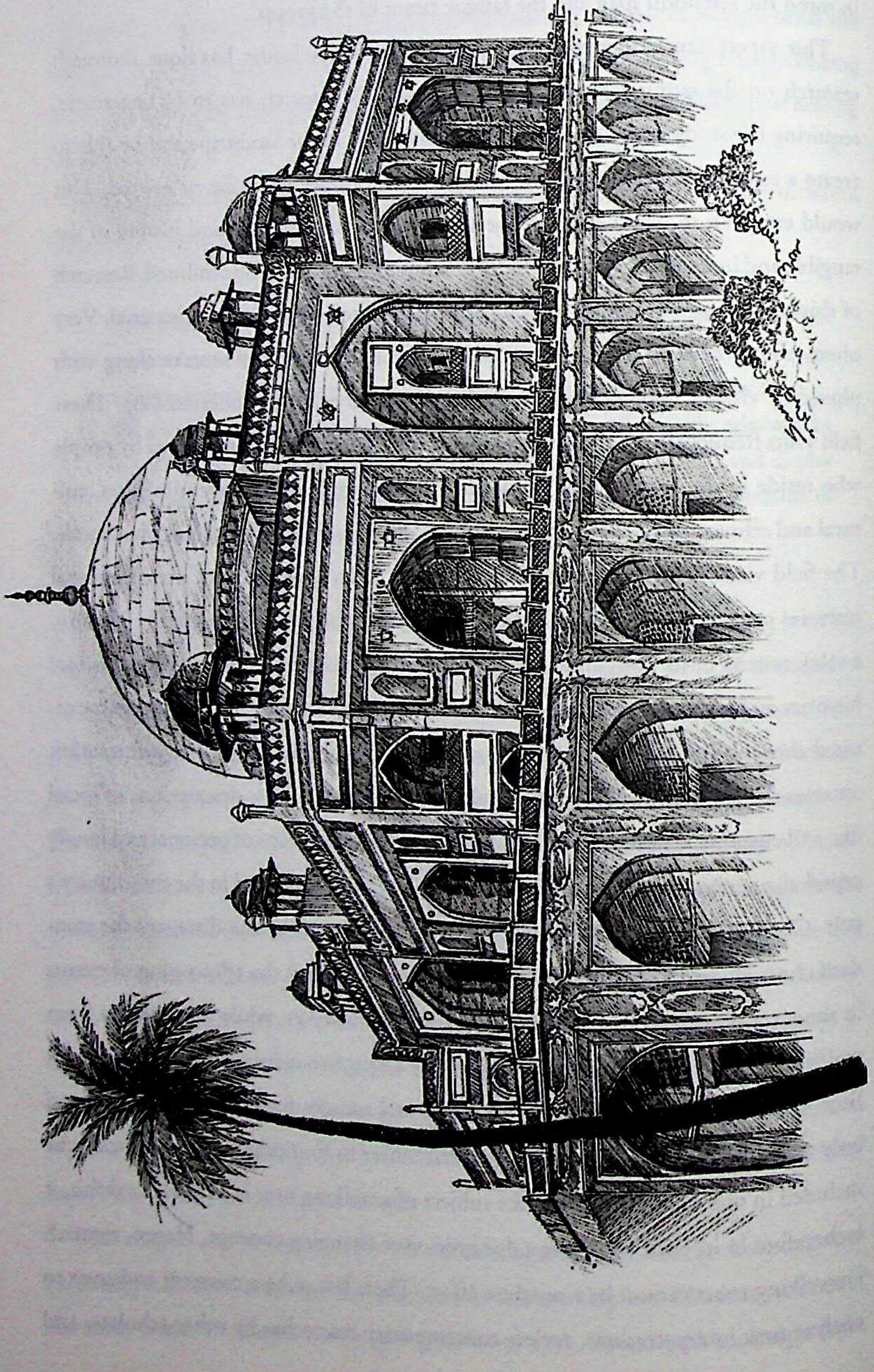
Like museum exhibits, walking tours also share some purposes, yet serve different objectives. For example:

> Museum administrators and curators generally offer a number of public and private explanations [related to the objectives their exhibits serve]. We mount exhibitions in order to disseminate new research and scholarly understandings in popular form ... We promote selected cultural and social values ... We conduct public relations for industries and political entities ... We honor the tastes of connoisseurs and display newly acquired treasures bought by the benefactors ... We help set standards of aesthetic and market value for art and artifacts ...[33]

Taking a cue from this, I analyze that walking tours, as exercises of exhibiting heritage, can create an awareness of heritage in multi-fashioned manner. One of the tools to do this is to reach out to different sets of audiences by reading culturalscapes from different perspectives so as to relate their understanding to the different mindsets that come to experience a culturalscape. The presenter has, like the curator in a museum, the power and space to interpret and read culturalscapes through a variety of lenses. Like in the process of curating a museum exhibit, the presenter as the study leader or the designer of the walking tour carefully chooses a title for the walking tour that provides both a context and focus through which the study leader submits various levels of heritage associated with the displayed culturalscape. The diverse tapestry of heritage showcased is woven into the narrative, encompassing the tangible and the intangible, and linking contemporary concerns with what the audience is seeing and experiencing. The walking tour becomes for the audience not only an educational experience but an aesthetic one as well.

This chapter also concerns itself with the technique of constructing, designing, and executing walking tours as specific exhibits and cultural displays. The first concern of the study leader or the person designing the tour, once the cultural landscape to be exhibited is identified, and a title is chosen, is a the practical one—namely, that of charting out the route and assessing the time taken to accomplish the walk, keeping in mind the attention span and the fatigue factor of the group.

This aspect can be determined only when the study leader has done thorough research on the culturalscape to be showcased. The research has to be systematic, requiring the study leader to have holistic knowledge of the landscape and be able to create a sense of the environment in which the culturalscape exists or existed. This would entail an in-depth study of the social, economic, and political history of the tangible and intangible heritage that defines the culturalscape to be exhibited. Research of this kind cannot depend solely on the reading of secondary printed material. Very often, efforts have to be made to explore and analyze primary sources along with physically visiting and exploring the culturalscape to enhance understanding. These field visits frequently assist in assimilating views and perceptions of the area by people who reside in the environment. These perceptions may refer to historical sites, cultural and ethnic groups, faith organizations, professional groups, and neighborhoods. The field visits provide the researcher an access to an assemblage of prevailing oral histories on cultural landscapes. After all, every culturalscape has a unique identity, a story rooted in its past, and a place on the national scene. Information from oral histories augments the written history. Oral information about the past is communicated through informal conversations as well as formal interviews. The information assumes the form of anecdotes, personal narratives, biographies, descriptions of social life, and customs. The narratives could comprise of descriptions of personal and family experiences, preoccupations, and events in the individual's life and in the community's past. Characteristics of orally communicated history such as the disregard for standard chronology, use of visual imagery in storytelling, and the telescoping of events in time, set it apart from formal, written history. However, while information from oral histories enhances written history on the respective culturalscapes and relevant time lines, efforts should be made to check oral sources for historical validity, and only when information is endorsed by at least three or four other sources should it be included in one's narrative. Since the subject of a walking tour is a "living" exhibit, it is therefore in its basic character a dynamic, ever-changing concept. Hence, research on walking tours cannot be a onetime effort. There has to be a constant endeavor to analyze new interpretations, review contemporary researches by other scholars, and



Humayun's Tomb, Nizamuddin

scrutinize the changing circumstances of the cultural heritage to be showcased. When "All these elements [for instance] can be coordinated into a formidable machine that is an important part of a town or county's identity, economic vitality, and social well-being,"[34] the study leader can design a tour that is intellectually stimulating, visually vibrant, and experientially enriching.

Once the study leader has all the researched knowledge at her command, she is equipped with the base resource material, which becomes the main canvas of the narrative for the tour. Narrative construction, a key element in exhibiting heritage, forms the content for the curator and charting the route of the tour becomes the central activity of the cultural display. However, what really makes the walking tour a "living exhibit" is the *performance* of the narrative. It is the art of constructing a narrative, executing, and performing it that functions to link the audience with the culturalscape, such that the narrative is the medium by which the presenter acts as a catalyst between the viewer and the viewed.

The proficiency of the study leader in "performing" the narrative becomes vital to the effectiveness and success of the walking tour. Therefore, the purport of a living exhibit and its success lies in its scholarship, its curatorial expertise, and the performed communication of the narrative. "Every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it."[35]

This point is elaborated by analyzing walks curated around a monument site, which, although a limited space, inevitably requires from the presenter holistic research, such that the monument is framed within a larger context. The research would comprise of the technical, historical, and social insights related to the monument. The academic groundwork would also take into account a comprehension of the environmental setting and the topographical, physiographical, sociological, and economic changes over time in the environment surrounding the monument.

I cite the example of exhibiting the heritage of the Humayun's Tomb complex in Delhi. For this, the presenter requires not only basic technical knowledge of the building information—such as: Who built the monument? When was it built? What are its architectural features?—but also to supplement and inquire about the rationale of locating the monument at the specific site it is located.[36] In today's context, the presenter will also need to approach this understanding against the large canvas of contemporary concerns of "politics of monuments."[37] The holistic information empowers the study leader to read the complex in which the monument resides from different perspectives. It also gives an opportunity to present varied sections of the complex as different exhibits. For example, a walk in the Humayun's Tomb complex can be presented under the title of "Indo-Islamic Architecture" or as "The Sunrise and Sunset of the Mughals: A Walk in the Humayun's Tomb." One could even curate an exclusive exhibit on a section of the complex called Arab ki Sarai (traveler's complex) and title the walk as "Trade Routes: Internet of Yesteryears."

My own research on the monument embraced not only secondary sources like various research papers and academic publications, material found in the archives of the Archaeological Survey of India, but also conversations with archaeologists involved in its conservation. The research also comprised of documenting oral history surrounding the monument that required an assiduous effort. I interviewed some old families staying in the neighborhood of the monument and found to my great surprise that until the management of the monument was formally taken over by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1907, it was looked after by the caretakers of the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, located in the same area as the monument. I was curious about what the relationship and association of the monument with the Sufi shrine was and whether this had any bearing on the location. It was therefore imperative that I learn more about Sufism and the association of the Mughals in general with Sufi culture. Therefore, it is appropriate that before I proceed by analyzing the various exhibits on Humayun's Tomb, I introduce Sufism and its relation with the monument.

The location of the monument is in the vicinity of the well-known 13th century Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia Chisti. The Mughals since the time of Akbar were known to patronize Sufi saints especially belonging to the Chisti school of Sufism. Sufism is mystic Islam, and in the context of South Asia, it remains the most popular form of grassroot Islam. Sufism can be said to have popularized Islam in the Indian subcontinent without resorting to violence. According to Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the chief caretaker of the Sufi shrines:

> ... the *dargah* (Sufi hospice) even today remains a place of peace. People of all faiths come to get *barkhat* (blessings) and participate in *langar* (community kitchen) and

> Sufi music sittings on every Thursday night in the courtyard of the shrine. A very large number of the daily visitors in the *dargah* are non-Muslim. While the mosque is a place for worship, the Sufi shrines remain a place of friendship and peace. Humayun, the second of the Mughal emperor, died unexpectedly and was buried in what is today known as Purana Qila or the Old Fort, just about a couple of kilometers from where he lies today. The tomb was built 14 years after the death of Humayun. Although it is commonly believed that the construction was commenced by his wife Haji Begum, one cannot forget that it was Akbar who was the real ruler who not only permitted the building of the tomb but is known to have played a larger role than is known. Akbar is credited with the consolidation and firm establishment of the Mughal Empire. Akbar was extending his empire by war, treaties and marriages. He was determined to propagate his secular image. The location of selecting to build the first grand Mughal monument in the vicinity of a popular revered Sufi shrine makes the Humayun's Tomb a statement of heralding secularism by Akbar. My ancestors, who were caretakers of the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, also took care of Humayun's Tomb until 1857. Gradually the management of the monument was taken over by the British and finally in 1907 it came under the Archaeological Survey of India.[38]

The interview above was one of many that represented the documenting of oral history surrounding the monument. Yet another aspect of the research was the takeover of the monument by the Archeological Survey of India and the interaction of British officers with the Sufi caretakers. In this context, an interesting anecdote regarding one of the tombs located in the complex of Humayun's Tomb was narrated to me by Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the Sajjada Nasheen of the shrine of the Sufi Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia.[39]

> The British would often interact with us. On one occasion, my father, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, was taking a walk with Lord Curzon in the Humayun's Tomb complex. Suddenly, Lord Curzon asked my father: "Khwaja Sahabee, that tomb out there, is it really a barber's tomb?" My father replied, "it is and it is not!" Lord Curzon exclaimed: "You natives, you are always ambiguous! What do you mean it is and it is not?" My father smiled and replied: "You see, my Lord! It is said that Humayun was fond of a young boy and also fond of his barber. It was discovered that the boy suffered from a terminal illness. Humayun ordered a tomb to be constructed for the dying boy. In the mean time Humayun's barber fell ill and died before the boy. The decision was taken to bury the barber in the tomb meant for the dying boy. So you see that tomb is and is not the barber's tomb!" You know, I have letters written by Lord Curzon to my father.[40]

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Research on the Humayun's Tomb complex progressed into something much deeper. Questions related to the changes in the environmental setting—such as the gradual urbanization of the area and the movement of the river Yamuna that once bordered the monument, now away from outer reaches of the monument—all began to emerge. Looking at the monuments around the central building as well as the surrounding area, it was but natural to explore the oral histories associated with it; and yet incorporating these histories on monuments as part of the central narratives has to be done rather carefully since "[the monument's] modern destinies unfold in different time frames, they frequently strike a similar resonance and show a similar competition among archeological knowledges, sacred histories, and public remembrance of these places."[41]

The research on a culturalscape provides the knowledge bank which is cashed to develop narratives for the exhibits. In the case of the Humayun's Tomb complex, a core narrative was compiled and variations created for the presentation of the monument from various perspectives and also to customize the presentation to suit the requirements of the various audience groups taking the walking tour. The shift in focus and consequent alterations to the core narrative depends on the background, sensibilities, interest, and knowledge quotient of the each group or individual. This is essential to maximize both the educational and the aesthetic experience of the visiting audience. The research done by the presenter is therefore not limited only to research on the monument or the environment in which the monument is set, but also involves, if possible, research on the background of the audience.

For example, for a group of schoolchildren it was essential to not only simplify the narrative but to project those aspects that usually grip a child's imagination. Therefore, when once I took a large group of schoolchildren to visit Humayun's Tomb, I pointed to the mysterious crypt in which actual bodies lay buried. I also pointed out the play of mathematics and geometry displayed in the alignment of different parts of the building. The tour also included the tomb of Isa Khan, a governor in the reign of Sher Shah Sur, the Afghan who had displaced Humayun in Delhi. In the context of introducing Sher Shah Sur, I informed my young audience about his initiative to establish not only the major roads such as the national highway that is still used—the Grand Trunk Road—but also his efforts toward establishing a postal system. In order to make the narrative interesting, information on unusual post systems in India was imparted to the children—such as a reference to the camel post office in the desert region of Jaisalmer that functions even today.

When preparing a narrative, the presenter has to prepare a storyline. The storyline depends on the focus to be given for the aesthetic experience. For instance, the general narrative on the Humayun's Tomb embodies the historical and architectural understanding of the monument, an introduction to site selection, a reference to Sufism in Delhi since it is surrounded by the Sufi landscape, the relationship of the Sufis with the Mughals, and an overall view of Sufism in the context of South Asia.

The mother narrative on the Humayun's Tomb would also take into account the various other parts of the complex such as that of the Arab ki Sarai. The history of the Arab ki Sarai is closely associated with the building of the monument. Built by Bega Begum or Haji Begum for 300 Arabs whom she had brought from Mecca, Arab Sarai consists of a large enclosure on the south of the main pathway leading to Humayun's Tomb. It is unclear whether these men were Arab merchants or priests or Persian artisans and craftsmen who were brought in to work on the construction of Humayun's Tomb. These foreign artisans must have worked closely with the Indian artisans developing not only a cross-cultural heritage in architecture, but also interaction of working and the social customs and mores they manifested that belonged to a distinct culture.

Drawing on such connections in my presentation, I often emphasize the actual architectural features of Indo-Islamic architecture and the distinctiveness of the Mughal architecture as embodied in the monument. The exposition of the *sarai* (travel lodge) itself is a reflection on lifestyles of the common people. Exhibiting this part of the complex, the narrative impresses on the audience the ethos of travel, especially on the trade routes overland, the phenomenon of people-to-people contact leading to cultural exchanges on the one hand, and the body of stories about their journeys and their adventures, as recorded by the travelers on the other. It also alludes to the culture of a *sarai*.[42] *Sarais* were normally a traveler's lodge built on roads along important trade routes.[43] The traveler's inn was built around a large courtyard for accommodating caravans. They were what we know today as highway inns. The *sarais* provided shelter where travelers could avail some food and much-needed rest in the course of their long voyages. The caravan *sarai* was regarded as one of the main parts of a bazaar. The inn was not only meant for individual caravans and travelers but also provided the possibility of storing goods for trade. The wholesale goods that came from outside of the city were sold here to the retail dealers of the bazaar, the caravan *sarai* being a kind of a zone. Certain *sarai*s like the Arab ki Sarai had stores within their structures. The *sarai*, like several others, was located close to the centers of population. Arab ki Sarai however was not just an inn, it was an entire enclosure bustling with activity. Today it exists as a crumbling shadow of its former self. Yet, the ruins of the Arab ki Sarai are resonant of the era when travelers stopped there, stayed in the rooms set up for them, with arrangements for water (there is both a stepwell and a well in the compound), and a space to pray (the presence of the Afsar wala Mosque), which incidentally was mainly meant for the officer/officers in charge of the entire setup. The narrative recreates the life in the *sarai*—describing a caravan stopping, the hustle-bustle of the bazaars and traders within the enclosure, and so on. The story of the caravan itself attempts to present a fascinating picture on its own and provides inspiration for a fascinating tale.

> Until early 20th century, the Arab ki Sarai had shops and even a post office. When Humayun's Tomb was taken over by the Archaeological Survey of India, the shopkeepers were given land adjacent to the *sarai*. The British officer in charge of the project on relocation was called Young. The new area allotted to the merchants from the *sarai* was henceforth called "Youngpura," which today has been distorted to Jangpura.[44]

The continuity in the ethos of the history and features of the Arab ki Sarai contributed to the mother narrative on Humayun's Tomb but also potentially generated a new thematic exhibit titled "Arab ki Sarai in the Humayun Tomb's Complex: Internet of Yesteryears" or "From Horse-mail to Email."

The research for formulating the mother narrative on Humayun's Tomb assimilates several aspects. The material integrated is elaborate, multifaceted, and multilayered, spanning the period from the 13th century, when the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin came into being, to the present times. Humayun's Tomb is a grand complex of entities, functionalities, and metaphors. It comprises examples of tangible heritage like the Char Bagh based on Persian garden design and the *hamams* or the Turkish baths and the intangible heritage associated with the sociological and cultural aspects of life of the artisans involved in the construction of the monument, the Sufis who lived there, and the lifestyles and funerary rites of the Mughal nobility during those times.

As an illustration, a part of the main narrative refers to the main plan of the complex, which is popularly known as Char Bagh. A separate exhibit that I do is titled "Mughal Gardens and Monuments: The Humayun's Tomb." In this exhibit, I elaborate on the concept of Char Bagh and the surrounding setting of the tomb. Char Bagh is named after the cross-plan Persian Garden design that is said to have originated in Persia during the Achaemenid Persian Empire dating back to around 559–330 BCE. The Agha Khan Foundation, in affiliation with the Archaeological Survey of India, has taken into account the past and the present when researching the historicity of the Persian garden in their efforts to reconstruct the "garden of paradise."

As part of this exhibit, I highlight yet another fascinating feature of the gardens, which is a part of it and comes with its own histories, that is, the Turkish baths or *hamams, built for the convenience of* the Mughal nobility. Oral histories describe how it was customary to go on a pilgrimage that commenced from Shahjahanabad, covered the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia near Humayun's Tomb, and culminated further south at the Sufi shrine of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in Mehrauli near the Qutub Minar complex. The Mughal nobility would stop over at Humayun's Tomb on their way from Shahjahanabad, or what is known today as Old Delhi. They camped in the elaborate tents that were erected for them, in and around the gardens of the tomb, since it had all the facilities they required. The Humayun's Tomb complex not only served a recreational purpose, in fact it was functionally used by the Mughals in times of danger and uncertainty when it became a hideaway for them. The case in point being the last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, who with his family and courtiers used the complex as a shelter when he fled the wrath of the British after the Indian forces were defeated in 1857, the first of the rebellions by Indians against the British.

The monument itself is one of the first grand buildings constructed by the Mughals in the 16th century. Over a period of time, it transformed into one of largest assembly of graves of the Mughal nobility. By conjoining the past with the present, incorporating intangible heritage with the tangible, the narrator performs the narrative to produce a histrionic effect through which the audience is inspired and motivated to imagine the dramatic moments.

While choosing to present one monument as the subject of a living exhibit, the presenter asks herself several questions: What information to present? What to leave out? The presenter is often guided by this principle:

> Decisions are made to emphasize one element and to downplay others, to assert some truths and to ignore others. The assumptions underpinning these decisions vary according to culture and over time, place, and type of museum or exhibit. [I would add the composition of target audience in relation to the walking tours] Exhibitions made today may seem obviously appropriate to some viewers precisely because those viewers share the same attitudes as the exhibition makers, and the exhibitions are cloaked in familiar presentational styles ... The very nature of exhibiting, then, makes it a contested terrain.[45]

Presentations are therefore not totally objective, they are colored by the choice and understanding of the narrator and presenter. The narrative evolves from the mother narrative, which itself is based on several levels of comprehensive research.

To illustrate how the basic design of the exhibition forces the visitor to focus on a particular aspect and experience a particular emotion, I would like to give the example of a walk I designed, titled "The Humayun's Tomb: Mughals at Sunset." The time chosen for the walk was the sunset—soft fading light provided a solemn atmosphere, while the perfumes of the Indian roses in the garden permeated the peaceful atmosphere.

The narrative first introduced the monument, its history, and its architectural distinctiveness as a precursor of the Taj Mahal—with the concept of the garden tomb. Reference was made to the ethos of the tomb as a funerary building. This description provided the launchpad to introduce the political reality of the disintegration of the grand Mughal Empire, which began during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707). This period was often known as Gadri ka Waqt (times of turbulence).

The story highlighted the frenzy toward mysticism (especially the growing popularity of associating with Sufi shrines and rituals) during the days of disintegration. I emphasized the importance given to Sufi shrines, especially the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and that of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi near the Qutub Minar. The narrative introduced the eminent presence of the Sufis around the complex. As a matter of interest, I also referred to the fact that the meditation cells of the Sufi shrine (*Chilla Khana*) were located in what is today the complex of Humayun's

Tomb. Following this, the narrative made reference to the final event that led to the demise of the Mughal Empire, namely, the uprising of 1857. The description spoke of the plight of not only the last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, but also of the conditions of civic society, especially the Muslims in Shahjahanabad who were forced to leave the city. Many of them made way to the Sufi landscape surrounding Humayun's Tomb. The dramatic element of the narrative was aided by the dying light, which enhanced the aesthetic beauty of the monument.

As the tour entered the main sanctum, orange rays filtered through the tapestry of the perforated white marble screen in the west. There was a *mihrab* in the central-western screen from which the rays reflected on the simple white grave of Humayun. In the four corners of the central hall, there were mazes of layered corridors visible through screens. These corridors reflected the architectural plan of the mausoleum. The plan known as the nine-fold *hasht-bihisht* (eight paradises) was one that was often employed by the Mughals for tomb and pavilion design in the 16th and early 17th centuries. In this system, a square plan is divided into nine spaces: A central chamber with four additional spaces in the center of each elevation and four rooms at each corner. Perforated screens, with complex designs, which are a combination of geometric shapes and forms derived from nature, move outward along the antechambers, and finally through the last perforated screen, one can view the outward space. The aesthetic experience of lighted space through the outward-moving perforated screen brought to mind the saying that the complexity of life was reflected in the geometry of the screens, and the journey ends in open space. As one visiting Sufi I met in the Nizamuddin *dargah* remarked: "The *jalis* are said to create the impression of unending repetition believed to be associated with the infinite nature of God."[46]

In this case, I chose to heighten the aesthetic experience by building the "museum effect," taking advantage of the play of light. I even requested a muezzin to sing some verses from the Koran and also a *qawwal* (Sufi singer) who sang a verse of death as the ultimate release and the journey's end in paradise. Therefore, employing curatorial techniques and weaving a narrative, I was able to engender a specific "visual interest" in the audience through what Alpers calls the "museum effect."[47] The manner in which the aesthetic emotions were evoked was centered on resonance and wonder.

> By resonance I mean the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand. By wonder I mean the power of the displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention.[48]

The main distinction in what Alpers describes is that between exhibiting in a museum, which is completely controlled by the curator, and the other in which the showcased heritage is in a natural, holistic environment.

The presenter of walking tours has the added responsibility of incorporating the entire environment, the sociopolitical and economic reality in which the monument exists, and mould these features in the context of the central theme. Since the participating audience comes with its own understanding of the environment of the monument, the challenge to the presenter is that much greater. Here the skill of the narrator to communicate effectively and an alertness to gauge the perceptive ability of the audience contributes significantly to the total visual experience of the audience.

The creation of visual interest, or the museum effect, or selection of what and what not to highlight in designing a walk, contributes to the argument which the presenter attempts to make in relation to the theme of the walk. So, while in principle the presenter aims to be objective, the exhibiting is not always completely neutral. Again I will illustrate this point by referring to a walk that was designed on the same monument, Humayun's Tomb, with yet another perspective. It was titled "The Humayun's Tomb: A Political Statement."

Humayun died in 1556. He was buried in Purana Quila (Old Fort), which is about 3 kilometers away from where his present tomb is. I began with the statement that Akbar, son of Humayun, is recognized as the true founder of the Mughal dynasty and the greatest of the Mughal Emperors. Akbar did not build his father's tomb in Agra from where he was ruling. Instead, he sanctioned the building in the area around the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin, the name by which the present-day neighborhood is known. Since Humayun did not expect to die in an unexpected manner (he fell down the stairs of a library) at the age of 55, he did not plan his tomb. The task of erecting a monument to his memory was left to Bega Begum or Haji Begum, his first wife, with monetary support from her stepson, Akbar.

The tomb was to be a marker on several levels, I pointed out: It was to be the one of the first grand buildings built by the Mughals, the first Mughal garden tomb, and for Akbar, an emphatic and dramatic declaration of the arrival of the Mughals. It was also a proclamation of the secularist policy that he would follow. Building grandly, I argued, had always been the one mode adopted by kings and emperors to legitimize themselves and to assert their presence for posterity. Not only had Akbar consolidated land conquered by his father and grandfather, he was all set to proclaim the arrival of the Mughals by complimenting his own conquests with building grandly. In this manner, the narrative presented the monument as a political statement.

While describing the design plan and the architectural features, which demonstrated the development of the Indo-Islamic style symbolizing the syncretism that Akbar made efforts to create, the audience's attention was drawn to a pillar in the words below:

> Now look at this façade of a pillar. The façade is divided into three sections. Right at the bottom is carved the *purna ghat* (or the pot of prosperity), which is a Hindu motif found in traditional Hindu Temple architecture. Just above is a geometric Islamic design that tops the Hindu motif and above that is the Islamic design of the *mihrab* (a *mihrab* is a niche in the wall of a mosque or a tomb indicating the direction [*qibla*] of the Kaaba, toward which all Muslims are expected to face when they pray).
>
> The building, by amalgamating Islamic and non-Islamic motifs, illustrates the development of a syncretistic culture.[49]

The title of the walk as well as the observation is evidence enough of the personal interpretation of the presenter, and though the intention might have been that of neutrality, the presentation itself posits itself as an "apparatus of power," to which the following statement is rather appropriate.

From one point of view, most agents in the construction of identity appear to be neither the producers of objects nor the audience but the exhibition makers themselves, who have the power to mediate among parties who will not come into face-to-face contact. The presenter has the power to persuade the audience to focus on the distinct character and rituals associated with the Indo-Islamic identity, as well as to realize the power that the Mughals had become.

From describing the design plan as well as architectural features, the presenter argued the logic attached to the selection of the site for Humayun's Tomb. There were two reasons: First, the presence of the vibrant Sufi landscape of the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, and second, the setting, picturesque as it was, being located on the banks of the majestic river Yamuna. While the first reason implied that Islam, as popular Islam, had successfully made inroads into a largely non-Islamic region, it was therefore strategically appropriate to establish one of the first grand Mughal buildings in a terrain where Islam had been validated and to proclaim the arrival of the Muslim Mughal rulers.

Referring to the Sufis, the presenter observed that what was even more remarkable was the fact that the Sufis' strategy was defined by public service and they were thus able to win the trust and goodwill of the large non-Muslim population. Indigenizing itself, the Sufi center attracted common people by giving *barkhat* (blessings), serving free pure vegetarian food to all, and offering Sufi music performances (*sama*). Even today, over 65 percent of the daily pilgrims to Sufi centers, especially the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin, are non-Muslims. The Sufis conquered, but without the "sword." The Sufis were able introduce Islam at the grassroots in India before the political arrival of Islam in 12th century and, even today, it manifests itself as popular Islam. In fact, many Islamic empires legitimized their presence by building in or around Sufi complexes. The Qutub Minar (in the vicinity of the Sufi saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki) and the Humayun's Tomb in the proximity of the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia are cases in point.

The narrative also argued that Akbar's decision to situate Humayun's Tomb (one of first grand Mughal buildings) in the Sufi environment went a long way toward proclaiming the arrival of the Mughals as a cohesive and strong force, especially since neither Akbar's grandfather nor his father had lived long enough to consolidate their empire and to structure their revenue and administration systems.

The choice of the banks of the river Yamuna was based on the belief that water is a seminal resource to create not only a complex reflecting paradise but also that the practical existence of such a complex allowed for the establishment of a sophisticated hydraulic system within and around the complex of Humayun's Tomb.

Variations in the thematic tours centered on the one monument of Humayun's Tomb demonstrate that there is scope in the genre of walking exhibits, like any other crafted exhibition, to provide various perspectives. Reading the monument from different points of view provides variation in narratives and creates the drama of what in exhibiting terminology is called "crafted visibility";[50] but here it is more than visibility—the text becomes an audiovisual text and the performed narrative an audio-visual aid to comprehend the culturalscape. The performed narrative on culturalscapes is like books that require discussions and perhaps rereadings of the culturalscape through various perspectives. Elaborating this concept, I revert to the idea that images are created based on various perspectives grounded in economic, cultural, sociological, historical, and anthropological contexts. Largely, the efforts are to interweave scholarly works from these fields into the narratives. The narratives provide a particular point of view, and in that sense the audience gets a *darshan* of the culturalscape through a particular lens. Diana Eck in her book *Darshan* analyzes the concept in relation to the encounter of a devotee with a Hindu idol; I extend this concept to assert that the main objective in designing an exhibit is to enable a *darshan* of the culturalscape with the aid of the narrative. "The central act of Hindu worship, from the point of view of the lay person, is to stand in the presence of the deity and to behold the image with one's eyes, to see and be seen by the deity."[51]

The heritage walks represent, through images, varied ways of experiencing a culturalscape; they perform and facilitate a new method through which a national, a societal, or a civilizational identity is communicated. What is interesting is the fact that this genre of exhibiting India is emerging and getting popular at a time when India itself is a growing economic power and perceived to be an emerging global player; the imaging of India through the medium of the living exhibits of walking tours coincides with the view that when "a society becomes modern, one of its chief activities is producing and consuming images."[52]

The art of crafting exhibits strives toward devising visual effects, observing neutrality in the presentation, and creating an aesthetic experience. The narrative and the theatrical execution of it are central to the effectiveness of the display. These various concerns are elaborated upon by referring primarily in to the built heritage of the Humayun's Tomb, which is a "closed" architectural complex; there is no bazaar or any other human activity that may distract the audience, the description of which will follow later in the chapter.

The ethnographical account of intangible heritage is created in the narrative and grafted on the built heritage viewed and experienced by the audience. What happens when ethnographic objects are presented in one setting in a museum and in another, as presented in a walking tour, yet another category of recreating the "living" character of the objects? In the following description, I will analyze an ethnographic walking tour, which I designed. It was titled "Removing Obstacles: Subduing Evil Spirits." The walking tour started from the closed, structured space of the Bhuta Gallery in the National Crafts Museum and concluded with a walk through the lived environmental space of the Sufi shrine of Matka Pir nearby.

The National Crafts Museum is one of its kind, not only in India but also in the entire Asia-Pacific region. Designed by Charles Correa, the eminent Indian architect renowned for building mesmerizing museums, it is situated in a village complex which features various forms of village habitat and housings on display.

It was originally established to act as a place where artisans from all over the country would gather and learn how to preserve their traditional art in the era of globalization. However, it actually became a place where artisans from all over India started exhibiting their art and today, it has some of the best collections of artworks in Asia.

The core collection of the Crafts Museum was put together to serve as reference material for the craftsmen who were increasingly losing touch with their own traditions in terms of the materials, techniques, designs, and aesthetics of their arts and crafts due to the sudden changes caused by modern industrialization. The Crafts Museum provided the craftsman the freedom to remain confined to his tradition or to innovate in response to his new contemporary environment.

One of the displays in the museum is the collection of the unique 'Bhuta Sculptures.' I started the tour by introducing the sculptures as objects of ritual worship that were brought from the Nandikeshwar temple in Mekkekattu in southern coastal Karnataka in South India. The objects of ethnography were not only polished (removing their vibrant multicolor) that exposed their natural wood (Jackfruit wood), but all of them were "incomplete," that is, while some were damaged before the acquisition, others were deliberately subtly defaced. The explanation lies in a belief in India that once the sacred image is damaged, or *khandit*, it no more remains sacred. Therefore, in making them part of museum display, all the objects were incomplete.

The fact that these objects were a part of a specific environment, which was missing in the museum, an environment which had a significant role and specific bearing on their cultural placement, was important to bring out the cultural process of rituals of which they were a part. The design of the gallery was minimal except for some contextual references made in the form of photographs with short explanatory captions. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimbett, in her essay titled "Objects of Ethnography," discusses the "in context" aspect and explains how the tools of labels, photographs, documentary films, all add to enlarge the environment in which the objects live.[53] My narrative functioned to enlarge the "in context" of the sculptures in the gallery. The narrative included the recitation of some songs sung during the performances along with references to the caste sociology of the professionals associated with the rituals. This enabled the participants to create for them an imagined world just as it had in the Humayun's Tomb complex.

The narrative started with the description of the ritual of which these objects were a part.

The ritual performance is called Bhuta Aradhana or Bhuta Kola. The cult is practiced in the coastal parts of Karnataka.[54]

> The word *bhuta* means a ghost. The sculptures represented the attendants of Shiva called Shiva *ganas*. Their purpose was to serve Lord Shiva and to protect dharma or the righteous path of living and ethical conduct. There are two parts to the performance. In the first part, idols are paraded in a procession (and these sculptures are those idols). The procession ends and idols are placed on pedestals. Not anyone can become a *bhuta*; there are specific castes whose profession is to become *bhutas*. They belong to the lower castes. There are several kinds of *bhutas* that address different issues. *Bhutas* can be animistic, for example, in the form of a pig or tiger, or they can be representatives of characters from mythologies, such as Brahma—the God of Creation. A third class of *bhutas* is deified human beings and the fourth kind is strictly local characters. Then there are devils that provide comic relief during the performances like the Potte—deaf devil. Newer *bhutas* like the *posa-bhuta* get added on. Each *bhuta* is specifically used to appease an evil spirit and protect the environment. As part of subduing the evil spirit, one performer starts a ritualistic dance (sometimes with swords and bells). His performance is of one possessed. There is another performer who sings and narrates. Every village has umpteen temples or *gudis* dedicated to various *bhutas*. More than 400 *bhutas* have been identified, but only a

> hundred are regularly worshipped. These spirits are worshipped once or twice a year and the ritual is known as *koola*. As I mentioned earlier, the performers belong to the scheduled castes, but once the ritual is performed, these performers transcend their caste status and assume sacredness. Hence, the entire village participates in this festival and seeks the blessings of the spirit, including those who to belong to the upper castes.[55]

For the duration of the performance, there is a complete caste reversal, what the well-known anthropologist Victor Turner speaks of as "liminality." According to this theory, "the rite of passage in the rituals compels the performer to undergo a change in his social status. In this case the lower caste performer becomes a god to who even the higher castes bow."[56]

The narration recreated the ritual paraphernalia, expanding the boundaries of the culturalscape of the sculptures from the gallery to the habitat to which they belong. "They require a context, or framework, for transforming otherwise grotesque, rude, strange and vulgar artifacts into object lessons."[57] The entire presentation of such objects meant that I had to keep in mind the fact that the wooden sculptures in the gallery were totally detached from their cultural environment. They were standing in a minimalist ambience—by presenting the gallery as a "minimalist installation style of exhibition of 'primitive art' by suppressing contingency and presenting the objects on their own, such installations lay claim to the universality of the exhibited as works of art."[58] There was low lighting in the gallery that emphasized the mystery of the sculptures and contributed to create the "museum effect," which transformed these objects of ethnography from curios to art pieces. Some of the participants expressed their desire to buy sculptures such as these, since to them the sculptures were magnificent pieces of art.

The difference between this exhibit and Humayun's Tomb was the inclusion of a lived environment at the end of the exhibit, with a visit to the Sufi *dargah* of Matka Pir (the Sufi Monastery of the Water Pitcher). The Sufi *dargah* is situated just behind the premises of the Crafts Museum. The narrative of the walk first took into account the history of the Sufi center. Over 800 years old, the shrine of Matka Pir belonged to the Qalander *silsila* (school) of Sufism. It predated the Chisti shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and it is believed that Aulia came to pay respect to the saint, Hazrat Sheikh

Abu Bakr Tulshi Haideri Kalandari Rahmatullah, buried in this shrine. According to the present head caretaker of Hazrat Nizamuddin, Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the maintenance of the shrine was overviewed until the mid-20th century by the caretakers of the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia.

The shrine itself stands atop a small hillock. At the entrance leading to the hill, there are shops selling components for offerings such as flowers, large numbers of green scarves, incense, small sugar balls, chickpeas, and the most interesting terracotta water pitchers. On another side facing west is a small mosque, and all around the compound are bare, tall Keekar trees that are marked by hoards of hanging earthen water pitchers. The Keekar tree is a symbol of resistance, I told the group, and it survives in the face of all odds. Its bark has medicinal properties and is especially used for preparing oral and dental hygiene products and ointments for burns and skin diseases.

I proceeded with the group into the main shrine where the caretaker of the shrine had been invited to speak to the audience. Dressed in a white kurta-pajama and a skull cap, Pir Mohammed Naseem took great pride in narrating incidents and anecdotes that form the oral history of the institution. The *pir* is usually surrounded by a large number of "patients," who come to him for *barkat*—blessings to provide solutions to their worldly problems and to exorcise evil djinns. He does this by giving them verses to chant or talismans to wear.

In a typical theatrical manner, the *pir* began his presentation:

> One day a thirsty traveler came to the *Baba Pir* (Sufi teacher) asking for water. *Baba* offered him water from an earthen pitcher. The traveler then told him that he was suffering from an incurable disease. *Baba* said that he would pray for him. When the man returned after some days, he said he was completely cured. After the incident, people started thronging the *dargah* to seek the blessings of the *pir*. While they narrated their problems, he would pray for them and the problems would be solved. Balban, one of first Muslim rulers in India, was keen to test the powers of the *pir*. He sent him a platter full of iron balls and mud, for a start. The *pir* covered the plate and started praying. After a while when he lifted the cover, he found that the iron balls had turned into roasted gram and the mud into *gur* (jaggery). The *baba* then mixed part of the *gur* with gram and water (which then changed into sweet milk). On account of this, even today, when a pilgrim's wish is fulfilled, he/she makes an offering of

> roasted gram/chickpeas, *gur*, and milk in *matkas* or earthen pots. This practice led to the *baba* being known as Baba Matka (Wise man of Water Pitchers).[59]

As a result, there are large numbers of *matkas* that made up the waste in the premises of the Sufi shrine. Khwaja Hasan Nizami advised the caretaker of the shrine to hang the terracotta vessels on the large number of Keekar tress around the shrine. The son of Khwaja Hasan Nizami who is the present caretaker of the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin laughingly told me that hanging the pots, as suggested by his father was in today's terms an idea for waste management.[60] Gradually, hanging *matkas* as a scheme for waste management transformed into a sacred ritual related to the fulfillment of a wish. The hanging pots create an interesting visual and dramatic experience. As is often the case, ritualistic reality in India becomes a greater lived reality than the historical reality. In this case, a practical solution to handle the large number of earthen pots strewn around was changed into an invented tradition, explained in the following manner:

> Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a historic past.[61]

The tradition of making offerings in the pots became part of a historic past into which the new tradition was inserted. In the designing of the exhibit, one has to be alert in keeping pace with the newness that emerges in the living and built heritage that is exhibited. Those changes not only have to be incorporated but also explained from within a larger canvas of cultural environment from within which the changes take place.

It was ironical that the miraculous powers of the *baba* were ultimately responsible for his death. He was known for converting lumps of mud into gold, which he would then distribute among the poor and needy. This led people to believe that the *baba* may have kept loads of gold hidden in the *dargah*. One day, some of them got together and murdered the saint. They made concerted efforts to get at his "wealth" but there was nothing to be found there.

Since the theme of the exhibit was related to exorcism, it was important to demonstrate the psychological and spiritual functionality of the shrine, namely, the manner in which the Sufis in this shrine functioned to subdue evil spirits. This was described by the Sufi caretaker in an interesting story. "See this mulberry tree in the center of the courtyard of our house," the Sufi said, and continued:

> If you look closely, there is a huge crack in the center of the trunk. One day, a lady brought her daughter to me. The daughter used to have fits. I told her mother that evil djinn had possessed her. I chanted holy verses, made her wear a talisman, and then took a bowl in which I threw the yoke of an egg. Taking an iron chain, I swung it around the girl and spoke loudly to the djinn: "If you have left the girl go and shake the mulberry tree!" In a few moments we saw the center of the trunk crack with a bang. I then told my patient that the spirit had left the girl's body.[62]

Apart from referring to the main history and theme of the Sufi center, it is important to understand that the entire execution of an exhibit, although centrally oriented around the theme must bear in mind that the exhibit is executed in an organic natural space and therefore each canvas incorporated in the exhibit has a story of its own and must be represented in its totality. For instance, reference to a couple of oral history anecdotes exposed some overarching themes, which created a certain understanding of the Sufi shrine and its existence in "a" specific historic time and space. According to Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, 1912 was marked by the Delhi–Lahore Conspiracy Case in which an attempt was made to assassinate the then Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, on the occasion of the transfer of the capital of the British from Calcutta to New Delhi. As luck turned out, the viceroy, who was sitting on an elephant, was unhurt but his mahout was killed. Khwaja Hasan Nizami had intuitively felt that the viceroy's life was in danger ahead of the incident, and he wrote an article on it in a newspaper ahead of the incident. Khwaja Sahib was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the conspiracy but was later released. Lady Hardinge came personally to thank him for the forewarning. The Khwaja gave the English lady his blessings and a talisman for the safety of her husband. She then asked the Sufi if she could do anything in return for his kindness. Khwaja Hasan Nizami told her how there was a plan to build a road, which would mean the demolition of the sacred shrine of Matka

Pir. He requested Lady Hardinge to accompany him to the shrine. Lady Hardinge was fascinated by the spectacle of the large number of *matkas* hanging from the branches of the trees. She was impressed enough to use her good offices with the administration and persuade them to build the road without destroying the shrine. Although these events are from the past, they still linger on in the memory of the local people and therefore form an integral part of the intangible heritage of the site. Such stories also throw light on larger issues such as the relationship of the British with the indigenous religious groups and traditions in India. Hence, the narrative on the exhibit becomes rather multilayered.

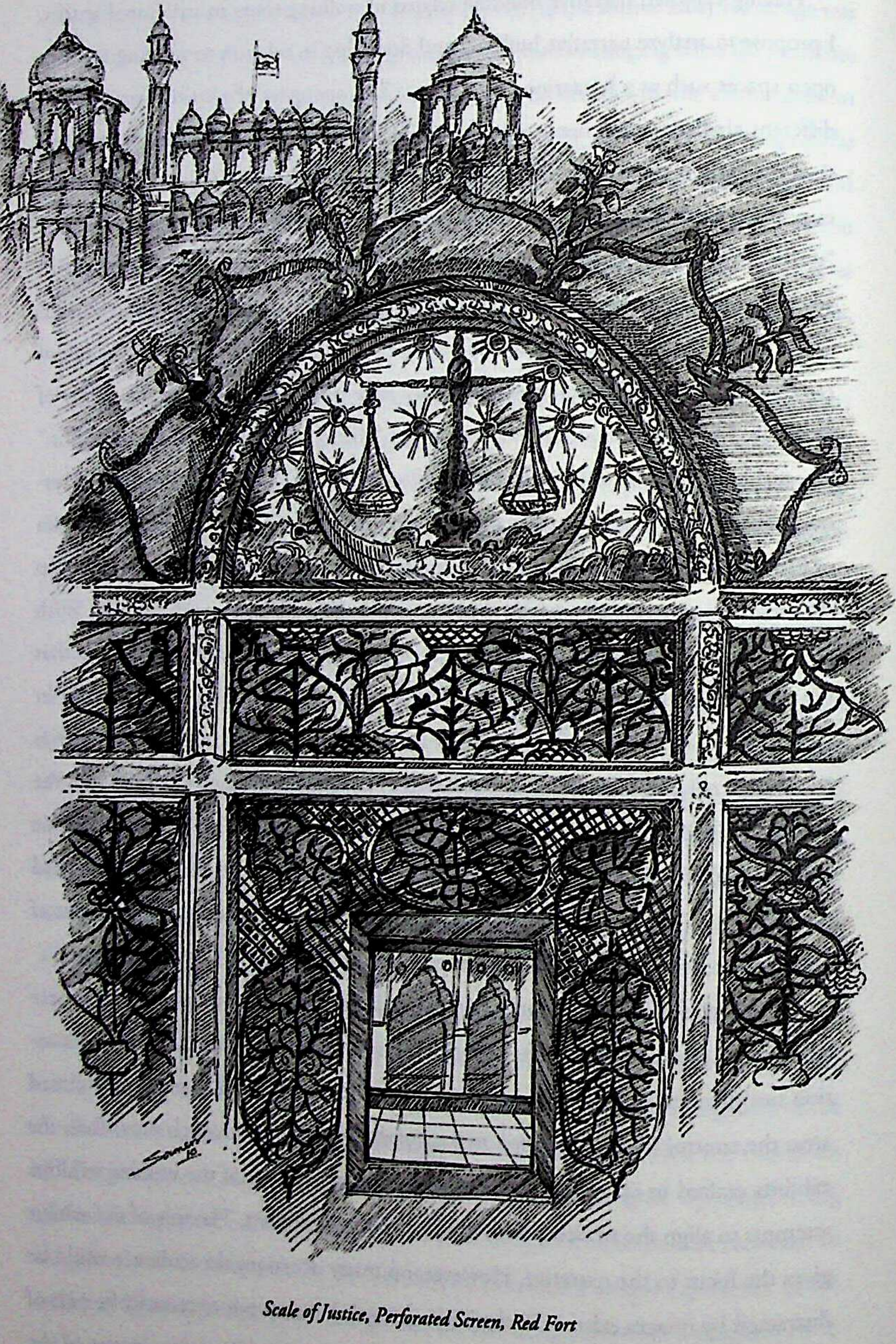
The fact of the matter is that the narrative of an exhibit has to take into account these multiple cultural themes and consider larger issues such as the place of certain rituals or institutions—in particular the sociological, historical, political, and economic frames. At the same time, the central focus indicated by the theme of the exhibit has to remain the central focus. The weaving of these multiple thematic contents into the creation of a comprehensive and cohesive storyline on the exhibit remains an important element in the design and execution of a walking tour as a living exhibit.

Yet another important point in the construction of the narrative that was reflected in the involvement of the Sufi *pir* was the validation of facts—the accounts rendered as oral histories. Walking tours are in many ways an exercise to extend the learning of history. As mentioned very early in the chapter, there is great value and importance in oral history, but as a historian one has to keep in mind that not all oral history is authentic history. It is therefore important to validate the oral history by researching a couple or more of other sources.

Inclusions of community representatives and heritage bearers have been used as illustrations to provide an authenticity and a realistic dynamism to the walking exhibit. By juxtaposing the open Sufi *dargah* with the closed structured gallery of the Crafts Museum, I have attempted to bring out the difference between the two kinds of exhibits—one, a closed, structured space and the other an open, dynamic, living space. The experience of the walk combining the imagined environment recreated in the gallery and the lived one (in the Sufi *dargah*) provided a unique experience to the audience that was both realistic and powerful. The design served as a mechanism to represent identities, to link traditions, and to revitalize local heritage.

Having explored narrative building related to walking tours in structured spaces, I propose to analyze narrative building and designing in relation to walking tours in open spaces such as a bazaar or a river front. The openness of a culturalscape poses different challenges and hence the manner in which narratives are constructed and then theatrically performed. Since open culturalscapes usually offer a spread-out terrain, the presenter has to dexterously carve out a logistically appropriate route to be "walked" within a time frame. Unlike in a closed complex with a distinct monument where the presenter can steer the focus of the audience, an open space offers various distractions. For instance, a bazaar or a river front in any city in India can be full of moving images of living traditions that may have no connection with the theme of the walk. I have described earlier a walk titled "Rising India: Bazaars of Old Delhi." There, I had mentioned the visit to the bullion market called Kuncha Mahajan. During that walk, one of the participants came to me and mentioned the phenomenon of blue-colored ice blocks in a small niche he had noticed. I was walking the group through dark, narrow alleys with shops on either side glittering with jewelry. With great difficulty, I made a U-turn and went back to the place of interest. I found that the shopkeepers of the bullion market had contributed to creating a small "designer temple" in honor of Lord Shiva. One of the components in the temple tableau was ice blocks, colored blue to bring out heavenly magic—indicating the blue sky, the blue Kailash Mountain (believed that Shiva resides on this mountain), and the blue Ganges that flows out of Shiva's head. The outcome of this distraction was that I had to speak about the religious beliefs of the traders of the market and the importance of Shiva in the lives of the Indian populace.

Therefore, the audience, that within a closed structured exhibit (as in a space where a monument is situated or a museum gallery) is exposed to specific canvases, its attention not diverted elsewhere, can be easily distracted in an open space. In the closed area, the control of the exhibition maker on the participants is much more than the exhibits crafted in open, unstructured spaces. The presenter of the walking exhibits attempts to align the audience with the heritage environment. The title of the exhibit gives the focus to the narrative. However, on many occasions the audience could be distracted by images existent in the heritagescape that may not necessarily be part of the presented narrative. Hence, in many ways, walking exhibits remain out of the



Scale of Justice, Perforated Screen, Red Fort control of the exhibit maker. A well-designed and executed walking exhibit demands the presenter to insert such images into the narrative in a manner that synergizes with the central theme of the exhibit. The audience not only comes with a certain preconceived notion of the culturalscape, but as illustrated earlier, each participant encounters the environment physically, creates his own instinctive impressions by what he sees and then, through the narrative of the presenter, is affected, linked, and becomes a part of the living, dynamic, ever-changing culturalscape. The central question then is how does the presenter manage the audience who has, in some ways, an independent existence and is not really in control of the exhibition maker? From personal experience, I have found that one of the most effective tools is to generate a spectacle with a theatrical presentation of the narrative that weaves together the physical and visual aspects of a culturalscape.

Yet another mode that increases the drama is the choice of time, if possible, as to when to pitch the execution of the exhibit. To illustrate the point, I proceed to describe an exhibit titled "Old Delhi in Twilight: A Walk of Five Senses in Old Delhi." This exhibit was specially designed to highlight the ritualistic observations in the month of Ramadan (also called Ramzan, the Islamic month of fasting). The walk was timed to start at twilight at a mosque: A time that lent a sense of mystery and highlighted the exotic. While the sun was setting behind the ramparts of the Red Fort (the 17th century palace of the great Mughals), its shimmering orange rays filtered through the symmetrically organized arcade of arches around the central courtyard of Jama Masjid, the largest mosque in India built by Shah Jahan, the Mughal Emperor who also built the Taj Mahal. Just then, over the public address system of the mosque, an announcement was made for all non-Muslims to vacate the *masjid*. I had made special arrangements for the participants of the exhibit to witness the exceptional occasion. Selecting a place in the corner of the courtyard, I stood on a small stool and requested the audience to turn their back to me and form a semicircle. My words guided them through the drama of the activities in the mosque. Soon after, the lyrical voice of the muezzin called all devotees for the *magreeb ka namaz* (prayers after sunset). There was utter silence and an innate sense of discipline as men of all ages hurried toward the marble water tank in the center to perform ablutions before setting off to the central verandah for prayers. The women were not allowed to enter the main prayer area and therefore placed themselves in the arched corridors at the edge of the courtyard. Quietly, I explained not only what was happening around but also recounted the history and the social functionality of the Jama Masjid as an institution. My narrative for instance included an anecdote from a well-known Urdu book on Delhi, *Waqiyat-e-Daar-ul-Hukumat Dehli*, by Bashir-ud-Din Ahmad, published in 1920.

> Once it was decided that the grand Mosque was to be built on this spot, the formality of laying the foundation stone was to be performed. Emperor Shah Jahan assembled eminent Islamic scholars and religious clerics in Shahjahanabad. He declared that the person from among them who had never missed out on *Fajar* (dawn prayers) would be given the honor of laying the foundation stone. But for the Emperor, all who stood around in the august gathering bowed their heads, and so it fell to the Emperor himself to lay the foundation stone of this great building![63]

Once the prayers were over, the announcement to break the fast was heard and from silence, a cacophony of sounds filled the air. The flurry of activity and the sense of energy and excitement all around frightened hundreds of pigeons in the courtyard of the mosque. They flapped their wings and, in a flutter, took flight. Their place was soon occupied by several hundreds of people setting out their *iftar* (the evening meal to break the daily fast during Ramadan) goodies. Groups of young girls and boys, families with young and old children, spread out their little picnics. The essential Ramadan food with which the fast is broken is dates and water. This was accompanied by servings of fresh cut fruits, *jalebis* (pretzel-shaped fried sweet made of refined flour), *samosas* (fried stuffed patties), and *pakoras* (fritters made of gram flour). Constant announcements were made exhorting people to take care of their young ones and to keep the courtyard clean. Amidst this flurry of activity in the mosque premises, I continued to describe the history and architecture of the mosque and then quietly requested the group to move out of the mosque. Choosing another gate of the large mosque, we exited into the bazaar of Matia Mahal. This bazaar, in contrast to the bazaar of Chandni Chowk on the other side of Jama Masjid, is defined by not only global products, especially Chinese household products, but its own distinct character reflecting Indo-Islamic cultural sensibilities. Just outside, below the steps of the Jama Masjid, there were several stalls selling eatables specially cooked during Ramadan. It was already night, and while the audience gaped at the sea of humanity and glittering lights, I introduced the group to the living vibrant culture of the moving canvas they were to encounter. Requesting the audience to walk in a single file, I described what they would see, from crowds of poor people huddled outside the large number of eateries to receive free food, glittering bangles, jewelry in Islamic designs, burqas and ladies' undergarments hanging together facing the street, colorful trinkets, charms and amulets, skullcaps, to the food stalls serving up hot and savory snacks and sweet *seviyan* and *kheer* (sweet made with milk and rice). I commented on the "height of democracy," telling the audience to look out for large billboards outside some shops that said "visa forms and currency of Pakistan!" lights from China, the innumerable traditional bakeries, and shops selling betel leaves and nuts where some traditionally dressed shopkeepers appeared to have dropped in from another era. The vibrancy of the bazaar with its scented flowers, fresh fruits, jingle of glass bangles, and aromas wafting up from the street food vendors selling kebabs and large varieties of bread was an overwhelming experience for all the participants of the group.

Since the main purpose of the walk was the experience of celebration during the Ramadan month, experiencing the intangible heritage of the area around the Jama Masjid was central. The marketplace was humming with people who were done with their *iftar* and were now buying stuff for the morning *sehri*—the early morning meal before sunrise, after which the fasting begins again for the day. The atmosphere was truly festive.

The participants were then guided from the main street into a side street to an area popularly known as Chitli Bazaar. The shops in the bazaar sold modern cosmetics, wood, and spices, while children were seen riding bicycles and playing cricket in the lighted street. Soon the walk turned into a small lane where there were just shadows of houses and huge goats almost the size of Great Danes silently munching their feed. They were being fattened for the oncoming Eid. The call of the muezzin from various neighborhood mosques pervaded the air. It was time for prayers. As the group walked into the dark winding street, they observed that a large number of men wearing white clothes and skullcaps were quietly following them into the labyrinth, like djinns in white. I bent my head and entered a small doorway. The audience followed and was surprised to enter a Sufi *dargah*, which had a small mosque facing west, an enclosure where the graves of the Sufi saint Baba Abdullah Abul Khair (the enclosure is popularly known as Dargah Baba Khair, Chitli Bazaar) and his disciple lay. The white shadows turned into the reality of men coming to pray in the mosque in the compound of the *dargah*. They entered behind our group, performed ablutions, and solemnly went to pray. I chose a spot in one corner of the courtyard in the *dargah* and addressed the awestruck group.

> From a space that was replete with movement, sound, color, and smell, we have arrived in another space which is an oasis of silence. This Sufi *dargah* belongs to the Sufi Order of Naqshband. The caretakers of the *dargah* say that this *dargah* predates the 16th century Mughal period. The Naqshband school of Sufism came to India from Central Asia ...[64]

My narrative described the distinct features of this Sufi school. "The Naqshband believe that *zikr* (remembrance of Allah) can be performed by means of silent meditation. There is a feature in the Naqshband meditation that has similarities with breathing exercises of Yoga." One of the caretakers of the shrine was then introduced into the group and invited to speak on the heritage.

> Born near Bukhara in Uzbekistan in the year 1317 CE, Muhammad Bahauddan Uways al-Bukhari, known as Shah Naqshband, founded the school of Naqshband. He was followed by Shaikh Amir Kulal who continued and perfected his training in external and internal knowledge. The students of Shaikh Amir Kulal used to practice *zikr* aloud when sitting together in association and perform silent *zikr* when alone. Shah Naqshband is believed to have said: "There are two methods of *zikr*; one is silent and one is loud. I chose the silent one because it is stronger and therefore more preferable." The silent *zikr* thus became the distinguishing feature of the Naqshbandiyya among other *tariqats*. A Sufi becomes a saint when he demonstrates his spiritual power either in action or in his intuitive remarks. Once, there was a disciple (*murid*) of Baba Khair by the name of Bashir. One day he requested the *baba* that he wanted go for a pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) to the Dargah of Bu Ali Qalandar in Panipat (present day, in the state of Haryana). On reaching the Dargah of Bu Ali, he stopped at the entrance to buy incense and flowers from the shops near the entry gate. Just then, a man selling *paan* (stuffed betel leaf chewed as mouth freshener and digestion) offered him a sample as a blessing. The intention of the *paanwala* was evil. As soon as Bashir ate the *paan*, he felt like a *zenana* (woman) inside. Ashamed and aware of these changes, Bashir returned

> to Delhi and hid behind a pillar in the *dargah*. In the morning when Baba Khair finished his *fatiha* (prayers), he stuck out his head from a window and said O! Zenana Bashir, go and perform the *ziyarat* again. So Bashir returned to Panipat, and the *paanwala* caught him and said, "Your *pir* has rooted and preserved your soul," he laughed and walked away. Bashir performed the *ziyarat* and returned with peace and happiness.[65]

The group was guided out of this "oasis of silence," into the shadowed lane, and out into the noisy, chaotic bazaar. The group followed me in a single file as I wove my way through the small winding lanes. We passed shops selling splendid fresh breads and kebabs. There were large numbers of small units producing sequins and shops selling all kind of beads and antique-looking necklaces. We were heading toward the neighborhood called Bulbuli Khan, which had its own dynamics—black-veiled, burqa-clad women passed us like silent ghosts, while men gathered around a betel shop. There was a flurry of activity in a roadside men's beauty salon and a local gymnasium. Sounds in the area were a strange medley of Bollywood songs, *maulvis*' call for prayers, and the drip-drip of leaky water taps from dimly lit houses. Finally, the walk reached the third stop, the grave of Razia Sultan. Razia Sultan was the first Muslim woman to have ruled the Indian subcontinent in the 13th century. I mentioned a few historical details about her, quoted some legends that still surround her, and discussed the problem of illegal construction around the monument. Suddenly we heard some raucous Bollywood numbers, and a small girl peeped out of the windows of an "illegal" house that opened into the compound of the historical complex. The group then walked out of the area, into Chitli Bazaar. I stopped to ask a man standing near a *paan* shop in one corner: "Sir, can you kindly tell me where exactly I will find Manpasand Chatpati Biryani Point? I am a bit lost." The man looked at the group, sized them up, examined me up and down, squirted a stream of *paan* juice into a small drain nearby, and told me that it was shop number 701, in Chitli Bazaar, near the Haveli Azam Khan. Guiding the group, I led them to the famous point, and to their delight, they saw a huge heavily built gentleman wearing a vest and a *lungi* (wrap around) dishing out *biryani* from a *degh* (cauldron) that matched his own physical dimensions! He was popularly known as Mota Biryaniwala. The group had a taste of the famous *biryani* while I narrated various tales about the *biryani*:

> *Biryani* is a fragrant rice dish made from long-grained Basmati rice, meat and yogurt, and a mixture of spices. The dish is cooked in layers. The word *biryani* is derived from the Persian or Farsi word *birian*, which actually means "fried before cooking." The dish came to India over land and sea routes from Arabia and Persia. There has been therefore an influence from Central Asia and Afghanistan when it came to North India over the land route. For instance, legend has it that Timur the conqueror brought it from Central Asia in the 14th century. In the South, the dish is believed to have been brought by Arab traders via the Arabian Sea to the port of Calicut (Kozhikode) in Kerala. There are several variations of this dish in India. The Mughals developed the dish in a grand way. Famous regional variations are the Hyderabadi and the Lucknowi ones, where there is a vegetarian version also called *tahri*.[66]

The interlude at the *biryani* corner prepared the way for the next part of the exhibit, which was an authentic Mughal meal at the historical restaurant Karim's.

On reaching Karim's, the group was allowed to settle down. After ordering a selection of authentic dishes, I spoke about the history of the restaurant and described the dishes. Subsequently, when the lavish meal ended, so did the formal exhibit; but the experience continued for the participants as they made their way out, boarded cycle rickshaws and after a ride characterized with bumps and swings, arrived at the ultra-modern, Westernized, organized, clean Metro, in complete contrast to the landscape they had left behind. I heard a lady remark while traveling at roller-coaster speed on the rickshaw: "My god! This was like a dream!" The execution of an exhibit in open spaces such as a bazaar, or a river front, or an active place of worship like a mosque or a temple indeed can be rather challenging since the environment is in constant flux. There could be "a" mother narrative on the culturalscape but dynamic images that characterize such exhibits need to recognize the excitement of moving and performing people. This particular essence of an exhibit in the open space needs the presenter and the designer to be alert to incorporate the emerging canvases into the central narrative. The designing and presenting of the exhibit requires the interweaving of audio–ocular experiences and the acumen to transfer meanings and symbols into the narrative that renders itself as a rich multisensory experience.

"This was like a dream!" Quoting from the exhibit just described earlier, I would want to mention that the final objective the designed and executed exhibit hopes to attain is of creating a certain "perfect moment," which is when the presenter is able to stand back and enjoy the complete absorption of the audience with the culturalscape.

The above remark is an illustration of one such "perfect moment!" In a way, it is a reactionary, immediate feedback for the presenter.

The technique involved in designing an exhibit in an open culturalscape first concerns selecting a title and then proceeding to chart a route that is guided by selecting specific sites of built heritage or spaces. These heritage sites are frames within which narratives of their technical architectural features are presented; but it is the description and citing of human activities associated with these heritage sites that provide the built heritage a lived history. The choice of selecting heritage buildings such as religious institutions, traditional houses, and educational institutions, or built market places, ritual-specific places, is, in my experience, based on exhibiting not merely their architectural and historical relevance but also makes the presentation more interesting if the description is padded by incorporating human activity. The lived history incorporating human activity lends itself to provide the culturalscape—through the medium of the walking tour exhibit—a character of an open public living art museum. Sometimes exhibiting heritage in an open area could be oriented specifically around human activities and in such cases the design of the route of the exhibit depends on places where the activities are located.

With an exhibit organized in an open, unstructured culturalscape, there is always the challenge of facing and confronting changes in the topography of the culturalscape itself. Choice of built heritage may not only spread out over several kilometers but the landscape in which it exists might have changed with time, or the built heritage in an open space may have changed functionally, resulting in changes in the entire living heritage that may be associated with it.

To illustrate this point, I cite a walking exhibit titled "Rituals, Professions, and Lifestyles of Old Delhi." This walk started in the lane of Haveli Naval Kishore. Naval Kishore was an eminent lawyer, and members of his family were successful traders. We approached the *haveli* from the side of Chandni Chowk through a narrow lane. The family no longer lives in the *haveli*, which with time has been divided and converted for various functional uses. The *haveli*, like many others in Old Delhi, was a part of the city built by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in the 17th century. The city had planned zones and wards maintained by an eminent officer called Amir. The *havelis* were an extension of the fort-palace known as the Lal Qila or the Red Fort. Like the palace, Shahjahan planned the city in an organized manner. Lying west of the palace and fort—Lal Qila, the city of Shahjahanabad was organized into various neighborhoods. These neighborhoods had their own gates and security systems. With time the heritagescape of Shajahnabad has changed.

The *havelis*, as built heritage, were architecturally rather elaborate. The Haveli of Lala Naval Kishore represented an example of this domestic architecture. Presently this *haveli* is surrounded by small shops dealing in the wholesale fabric business. Parts of the *haveli* have undergone a functional change but by and large the façade of its grandness remains. For example, one part of the *haveli* was turned into a guest house while right at the end of a narrow lane stands the elaborate main gate of the *haveli* that leads into a winding corridor, was once a part of the mansion but today houses a large number of shops selling decorative accessories for clothing, connecting the mansion with Kinari Bazaar or the Ritual Street. We approached one part of the *haveli* that opened into a small courtyard of the house situated on the left side of the main gate. On one side of the courtyard was a covered area with a gallery of beautiful open-arched doors. Several members of the family were involved in the cloth trade. On the opposite side of the courtyard was yet another covered area in which a small unit with large machines manufactured boxes and paper bags. The third side of the courtyard was converted into the office of the manager of the packaging unit. One could see locked rooms upstairs. The interesting thing of note, for the viewers of the traditional house, was the fact that though the architecture of the building had not been tampered with, the functionality of the built space had been changed to make it appropriate for contemporary times. The original family had long moved out of the house, and the house itself had now become a part of the commercial culture of the bazaar in which it existed. The identity of the building had undergone a change. We entered the lane again only to access the family temple situated on the side across from where we were and saw the family priest performing morning rituals. That day Shivratri was being celebrated in India; hence, a special *puja* was being conducted. Standing in the small porch of the temple, we heard a chorus reciting Shiva mantras. After about 10 minutes, the main priest came and told my group:

> Today is Mahashivratri—the night of Lord Shiva! On this day it is believed that he who utters the names of Shiva with perfect devotion and concentration is freed from all sins. He reaches the abode of Shiva and lives there happily. He is liberated

from the wheel of births and deaths. Come, you can also join your hands and circumambulate.[67]

As one designs the walks, it is inevitable that one keeps in mind that what is exhibited in an open space is exposed to changes, "new uses could take on particular visual forms seizing the opportunities that popular culture proffered: for reconceptualizing, contesting, and refining new expressions of identity and ideology."[68] After that, we left the main gate of the Haveli of Naval Kishore and came out and into Kinari Bazaar.

Among the various images of traditional professions and interesting shops that I pointed out and mentioned was the importance of the *piyao* or water center. The *piyao* in Kinari Bazaar was a well for drinking water for the people in the neighborhood. The trader's association of Dariba Kalan (the silver street) and Kinari Bazaar contributed and renovated the well into a fancy little kiosk. The little water center is decorated with tiles and a calendar painting of Lord Shiva with the Ganges pouring out of his matted locks. There is a small tiled wall on which small taps are installed. A Brahman (who is paid by the trader's society) sits behind the wall to personally serve the water. Only a person from the highest and the purest caste is allowed to serve water to everybody, I explained.

Although this *piyao* has been part of the landscape for a longtime, it is interesting to see how it has changed with time. Existing living traditions in an open space become a lived and seen reality for the audience. Open-space exhibits are distinct in many ways. First, it is a challenge for the narrator to connect the present canvases with the past; second, when built heritage presents itself in open complexes such as bazaars or water fronts, in the mould of traditional houses, monuments, historical, or ritual institutions, the narrator has to recreate or describe the intangible heritage and graft it on the tangible. It is only then that there is a holistic presentation of the culturalscape, and yet it is in the manner in which the exhibit is designed, presented, and the culturalscapes, with their entire heritage interpreted, that stands to rationalize the realization that "ideologies of preservation might frequently conceal implications for transformation" as in the case of the Haveli of Lala Naval Kishore.[69]

As is obvious, the presentation of ethnographic exhibits differs from walking exhibits in a closed space such as the exhibitions of the complex of the Humayun's Tomb. While the research and technique of building the mother narrative is similar to that of the closed structured complex of Humayun's Tomb, the challenge is to create flexible and extended boundaries in the texture of the narrative, weaving in the stories and narratives of the community representatives and tradition bearers. Community involvement, along with the narration of the presenter, threads the audience into the culturalscape and together they weave a fabric in its entirety. Unlike artifacts in museums, the various moving canvases are not detached from their environment and the audience views each canvas from within its own environment, thus presenting the heritage as a holistic piece.

Recalling, for instance, the dramatic entry into the *dargah* in Chitli Bazaar would have been incomplete without the visual presence of the huge goats or the magical journey to the almost forgotten grave of Razia Sultan. The mystery and excitement was heightened by darkened streets and the sound of dripping water taps, contrasting with the brightly lit main streets, the hustle-bustle of the market, the near hedonistic indulgence in street food, and the presence of the large man selling the exotic *biryani*. The building of the narrative went hand in hand with the creation of visual effects. The aesthetic experience ranged from wonder, disgust, mystery, and curiosity as the presenter took them into and out of a dream world. Such ethnographic displays, different and challenging, manage to capture the true essence of a culturalscape, in this case the vibrancy of real India. The burden of interpretation is less since the audience is actually seeing things as they exist. For instance, one person noticed in the shadowed lane leading to the Naqshband Dargah a small bookbinding unit. The participant asked me about the unit. Immediately, I moved down some stairs into a basement and saw that there were 20 young men working diligently. While one half was involved in binding copies of the Koran, the other half, curiously enough, were engaged in binding the election manifesto of the BJP (the rightist political party, known for its sometimes anti-Muslim remarks and policies). I addressed the binding unit's manager Abdul Khan, and asked him the logic of him as a Muslim binding the BJP manifesto, which in common knowledge has been a party closely aligned with the Hindu rightist wing. Abdul Khan replied: "Madam, how does it matter, as long as we make our money! We have to be practical."[70] As a presenter, I was not required to make any comments. It was left to the audience to see and make their own judgments and responses.

In all the examples of the different Delhi walks mentioned in the chapter, it is important to understand the objective of the narratives in relation to the audience. In most case studies described above, the narrator was creating the experience of the built heritage by inspiring the imagination to recreate displays of spaces. This was done by scientifically describing the architectural design, the organization of space, and recounting the living heritage. The narration was peppered with references from both written and orally transmitted history and with the involvement of heritage carriers.

In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard applied the method of phenomenology to architecture, basing his analysis not on purported origins but on the lived experience of architecture. In the book, Bachelard calls the lived experience of architecture a "phenomenology of dwelling." In this reference, the description of a walk titled "Lifestyles of Old Delhi" seems fitting. The walk covered three *haveli*s and a modern house. On reaching the first *haveli* called Kazanchi ki Haveli, I spoke of the setting of the house, its majestic door blending with the market street outside. Inside was a courtyard surrounded by rooms. My narrative recounted the plan of the house with its raised platform, *chabutra*, and *dalan*, as well as the incorporation of features of Mughal architecture in the form of elaborate Shah Jahani style pillars. There were other features such as the presence of latticed screen balconies used by the women in the family. This naturally led me to describe the lives of the women in such houses.

> The courtyard and the roof in the *haveli*s was the public space for the women. The courtyard served as community center for the joint family. It was here that all family ceremonies were organized. On special occasions such as marriages, courtesans were invited to perform in the courtyards. While the men of the house and their other male guests sat in the courtyard, the women watched the performances from the balconies behind the purdah. Both the rooftop and the courtyard were ideal features for the climate of the North Indian plains. While in summer there was cross ventilation, in winter the warm sun countered the harsh cold. Male hawkers were not allowed inside. Most of them such as the bangle seller (*kaniharin*) interacted with the women through back windows. Special professionals such as the barber and his wife were regular visitors in the courtyard. They were involved in family ceremonies such as marriages, funerals, and birth rites ...[71]

The recreation of activities in the house was in fact creating the "phenomenology of dwelling," just as it was created in the description of the *sarai* in the Humayun's Tomb.

The narrative as well as the delivery of the narrative provokes and spurs the imagination of the audience to create what Bachelard calls the phenomenology and the creation of the "poetic image." Bachelard writes that the image, in its simplicity, has no need of scholarship. It is the property of *naïve* consciousness; in its expression, it is youthful language. The poet (in this case the narrator) in the novelty of his images is always the origin of language. To specify exactly what a phenomenology of the image can be, to specify that the image comes before thought, we should have to say that poetry, rather than being a phenomenology of the mind, is a phenomenology of the soul. We should then have to collect documentation on the subject of dream consciousness.[72]

In the beginning of this essay I asserted that walking tours as examples of living exhibits are performative in their very basic nature. The presenter in walking tours is challenged to create impromptu narratives, especially in tours that are organized in open spaces. This is so because if the audience is to be made to live the environment, the presenter has to have the ability to be innovative, keeping in mind the changing dynamism of open spaces and involvement of community participation. Together they contribute to the creation of a dramatic, which requires impromptu responses from the presenter. The narrative is impelled to incorporate human movement and unexpected canvases emerging and receding during the walking tour. The manner in which the poetic content is developed and then communicated is central to the presentation of the walk and the aesthetic effect of transporting the audience into a dream. The creation of the dream consciousness, aesthetic effect, and the relation and connection of the narrator with the audience will be reviewed, examined, and discussed in a later chapter.

The skill of formulating effective narratives is based on comprehensive research on various culturalscapes. But the skill of building in the description of canvases that emerge in walking tours does not only rely on the knowledge bank of the presenter, but on her ability to create poetry, a storyline that makes a narrative compelling, so that the audience not only becomes a part of the cultural environment but undergoes a sublime aesthetic experience through the medium of heritage tours as symbols of cultural display.

An important aspect of designing the walking exhibit is its applicability. Since it carries within its dynamics the aspect of community learning, and can be used to read a culturalscape from various perspectives, the medium of walking exhibits can be easily used to serve the purpose of being a concept of applied heritage. The intention of the walks intends to create distinctiveness in the understanding of India even as it blends into the larger world. Special walks can be created and narratives prepared so as to interpret culturalscapes from perspectives most suited for a particular group. The walks explore the value and legitimacy of this kind of academic work on applied *heritage*, which in all its functionality extends the boundaries of disciplines as an experiential learning of history, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and religious studies among several others.

I will want to enlist examples of such walks; for economic delegations I quite often present two walks, one which I have described earlier in the chapter, titled "Rising India Bazaars of Old Delhi," and another walk and visit called "Village India and Rural Economy: The Crafts Museum and the Gandhi Smriti Museum." For an audience with a background rooted in politics, I presented a walk titled "Multiculturalism: Understanding Sociology of Class, Caste and Religious Groups—Neighborhood, Bazaars and Religious Institutions in Old Delhi"; for a group associated with arts and aesthetics, a large number of exhibits can be created and culturalscapes read from the exhibit titled "Bazaar Art of Old Delhi" to curating thematic walks in the galleries of various museums, or architectural walks. For an audience inclined toward law, I once designed a walk titled "The Red Fort: Judiciary System in the Mughal Days." I have often served audiences that are engaged in international relations and have designed several tours for them; some exhibits are titled "Syncretic India: A Visit to a Hindu Temple and a Sufi Shrine," "Understanding Jihad: Sufism in South Asia," and "Understanding Islam in South Asia: Rise of Political Islam—Qutub Minar." A more interesting and challenging effort was to design and execute, for varied groups of audience, walking exhibits to promote peace and solidarity; some of these exhibits were designed around the Humayun's Tomb and a cultural tour to Agra titled "Cosmopolitan City of Agra: City of the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar." In this mode of functioning, the walking exhibits as a medium of applied heritage take a leap, breaking the boundaries of institutional learning to contribute to community learning efforts; the category of becoming a public academician or a community preceptor is rather complex and challenging but remains, in the age of globalization and information technology, yet another terrain to explore.

On another level, I do stop to question myself both as a producer of such exhibits as well as a person who attempts critical analyses of these exhibits. In trying to read culturalscapes, do I step into the arena of trying to politicize the culturalscapes? Much has been written of by various scholars on the politics of heritage, especially that of monuments and heritage and certainly I do agree with Appadurai when he writes that "focusing on the politics of heritage in India brings out the place of Indian museums [or should I say the spaces of actual exhibiting of India] in these politics, problematizes the cultural modes of viewing, traveling, experiencing, and learning in which heritage is negotiated."[73] This is an issue I take up in a later chapter when I discuss the walking tours as a medium to broker Indian heritage.

Whether within the closed spaces of monuments and museum complexes or in the open spaces of river fronts, bazaars, or forests, these walking exhibits need to be designed with great care and to be executed with sophisticated skills. Both the open and closed spaces challenge the designer and the presenter to be adept in delivering narratives that incorporate the element of the unexpectedness associated with the "living" element in a natural and organic space.

When we revert back to the beginning of the chapter, I analyzed the various modules crafted historically to exhibit India. In the living exhibits of the colonial 19th century exhibitions and, a hundred years later, in the category of the Festivals of India, the central question is that of "viewing India or India viewed." The main difference between the Colonial exhibits, the Festival of India exhibits, and the walking exhibits is that while the former class of exhibits shows a mirror reflection of India and reveals a section of India's surface, in the latter the audience is made to become a part of the mirror itself. The pictures and images created of the heritage in the walking exhibits, that is, the *darshan* of the heritage are on two levels. One set of images are those that are seen by the audience as they exist in the culturalscape, which the audience experience naturally in terms of what they see—the images of a monument, its surroundings, scenes of events, and happenings in a bazaar. The other set of images are the ones that are painted with words used and presented by the presenter, the gaze of the audience is trained to see the heritage with the help of the performed narrative. I intend to explain this by applying Diana Eck's analyses of the theme of *darshan* in relation to the Hindu philosophical system: "The word darshan means beholding or seeing, as one beholds the deity [heritage] in a temple (cultural landscape). It also means point of view."[74] The presentation of heritagescapes is similar to the world of Hindu Gods, each of whom symbolize various perspectives, are associated with specific energies, and recognized by distinct attributes—where all the perspectives provide a holistic comprehension of the one and ultimate cosmic reality. By organizing the heritage walk under differnt titles, the narrator enjoys the flexibility and the challenge of reading heritagescapes from various perspectives. The multiple perspectives provide a comprehensive understanding of a multilayered fabric of a heritagescape.

There are other aspects to the very essence of these exhibits and one critical aspect is that of analyzing their emergence, popularity, and growth from within the context of the surrounding economic environment. The spirit of reveling and taking pride in India, I review as a postcolonial mindset of those Indians, young and old, especially in the metropolitan, that are not only curious about the essence of India but also celebrate it with a certain sense of defiance; designing exhibits, presenting the ethos of a country by weaving narratives and laying out an understanding of the environment around these exhibits has not only gained ground and the interest of visitors from outside but also indigenous citizens who make the effort to celebrate and empathize with the nation they live in to create an understanding of themselves.

The audience is made to have a *darshan* of various perspectives of India, and in joining with their own imagination, they absorb the experience. Diana Eck suggests that scholars should undertake "a hermeneutic of the visible, addressing the problem of how we understand and interpret what we see."[75] The tradition or *parampara* of heritage walks on whole represent a discursive discourse that explores the Indian identity by the varied readings of the culturalscapes; this exercise explores the past and attempts to understand the present. In my view, this genre serves the purpose of making the past merge with the present in order for the heritage to be relevant for the future, and actually contributes to makng the heritage a *parampara* or flowing tradition.

The multitasking of designing and executing the walking tour remains complex and requires a specific kind of professionalism, something I discuss in the next chapter. In their very essence, the heritage walks are new modes of public culture, a new arena for community learning, and a space for public intellectuals; assisting in providing a new life to culturalscapes. In this mode of relating to heritage, there is an outward flow—from the foundation provided by the canvas of past time into the existence of the canvas of present times. The walking exhibits are a new way of critically looking at several issues, most importantly the public forums of experiencing heritage or, as we have analyzed it in a new way, from within the Sanskrit mode, the *parampara* of heritage. The power of the walks to interpret culturalscapes with varied lenses makes the culturalscape a stage, an arena, and "a center (that) does not exclude what surrounds it, but rather anchors and integrates the entire field of the circle."[76]

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to Peshawar (Pakistan) via Delhi. Today, the road is known as the Grand Trunk Road or the GT Road. As part of the plan, traveler's lodges or *sarai*'s were set up periodically every 12–14 miles. The *sarai*s served as post depots and were kept up by the headman of the local village. In the now existing Delhi, several areas surrounding the *sarai*s are now well-known neighborhood localities such as Yusuf Sarai, Sarai Kale Khan, Katwaria Sarai, Ber Sarai.

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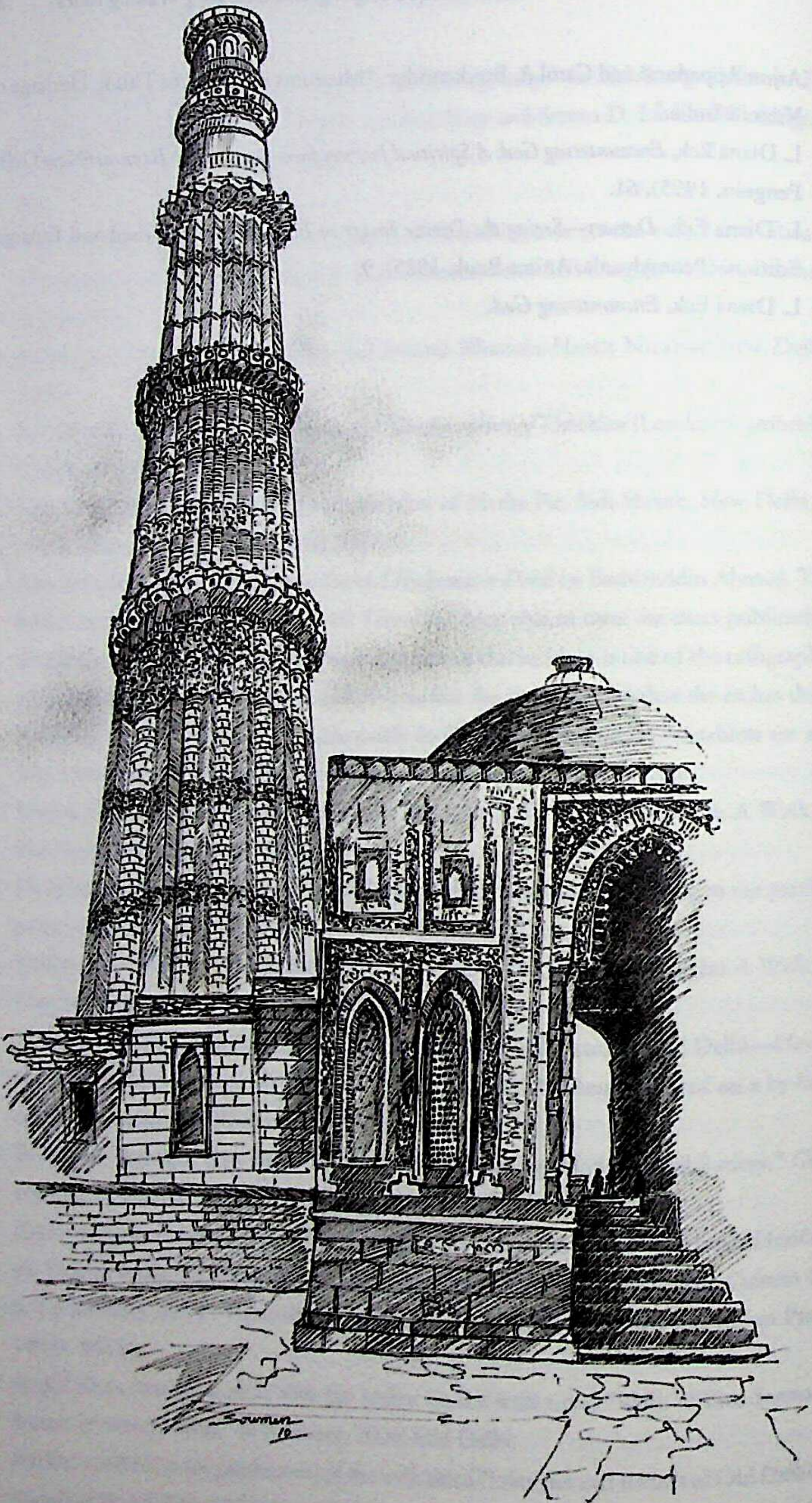


Qutub Minar and Alai Darwaza, Mehrauli

CHAPTER III

Making of a Study Leader

So, you need knowledge-instrument-method to succeed. Knowledge you get from books, the body is the instrument but what is lacking is a method. That is the source of all questions. So, what you really need is a method.

—Pandit Birju Maharaj, Kathak dance maestro[1]

In the previous chapter, I discussed the concept of designing and executing walking tours. In the discussion, right at the outset, the concept of categorizing the tours as living exhibit was explored against the backdrop of the notions of living exhibits. There was an elaborate discussion on the functionalities and objectives these exhibits have in their potentiality of serving multipurpose objectives. This chapter continues to explore the very aesthetics of the tours and relates them to the skills and techniques required by the study leader or the presenter to create an effective exhibit.

At the outset, I would like to clarify the use of the term study leader instead of the word guide. Although the study leader is primarily guiding, or leading the way, the method and the multiple skills involved in the category of this format of public cultural education implies that it is essential that the guide has an academic background, since the profession is about public academic work. The main function of the study leader is to link the audience and the culturalscape. "Any exhibition experience is the end product of mixing of different capacities and effects."[2] A cultural professional who opts to design and lead walking tours has to prepare herself on multiple fronts. The very technique of conducting walking tours requires her to be a researcher, a public academician, a good communicator, an effective performer, and a good storyteller. This chapter discusses the development of such a cultural profession that entails manifold roles and skills.

Let me start with the analysis of the research involved in this profession. The research for designing and executing the living exhibit is a continuous and constant effort dictated by two considerations. First, culturalscapes inevitably change with time, either naturally or having been modified by humans. Therefore study leaders need to keep themselves updated with the ongoing changes in the culturalscape; this requires continuous research by way of reading new work and visiting the field. Second, scholars produce new interpretations on various aspects of culturalscapes; it therefore becomes important that the study leaders need to be aware of new ways of reading culturalscapes, revealed by new insights in researches by scholars. Consequently, it is essential to recognize that research on culturalscapes is a ceaseless, never-ending exercise. Accordingly, the study leader is empowered to create innovations in the presentation of exhibits on various culturalscapes. In the previous chapter, I reviewed in detail the complex of the Humayun's Tomb and discussed various ways in which the monument could be read, and presented these readings as different thematic walks. In the following few paragraphs, I will discuss an example of an open culturalscape that presents a variety of built and lived traditions. The reviewed research is on a specific part of Old Delhi. The illustration seeks to explore and incorporate changes in the culturalscape. The example also furnishes how new information assists in innovation in the presentation of a culturalscape.

The walk that I designed was titled "Music, Poetry and Courtesan Culture of Old Delhi." As part of my PhD research, I had worked on the courtesans of North India as one among many performing communities. I had covered the courtesan culture in five major North Indian cities, namely, Delhi, Lucknow, Varanasi, Raigarh, and

Rampur. For the purpose of designing the walk, I compiled additional information on the courtesans of Delhi. Information was also compiled by conducting additional field visits, reading some newly published writings on courtesans, such as Pran Nevile's *Nautch Girls of India: Dancers, Singers, Playmates* or Veena Oldberg's article titled "Lifestyle as Resistance: The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow, India."[3,4] The new information was collated by way of interviews with the existing resource people who unraveled information on different aspects of the area. Hence, the research on designing a walk around the courtesan theme was based on both written and oral sources on the courtesans as well as the neighborhoods they had resided in. The fact finding included information on their social organization such as community associations and the caste system within courtesan cultures of North India. Detailed knowledge on methods of learning classical performing arts, their association with poetry, and poets; their alliance with the power elite in the city; details on the culture of their neighborhood (i.e., the Chawri Bazaar of Old Delhi); their contribution to literary activities and the performing arts; and their place in society was sought and analyzed from a feminist perspective. The research on courtesan culture was fascinating but rather difficult.

The courtesans of North India were popularly known as *tawaifs*. They were, until the mid-20th century, an integral part of North Indian towns. Well respected, educated, and talented, they represented freedom, power, beauty, and the progressive women of their times. *Tawaifs* were similar to the geishas of Japan. Unfortunately, unlike in Japan where there are two separate words that define courtesans and prostitutes, in North India there was only one word—*tawaif*—that was used to denote both prostitutes and courtesans. As a result of the antiprostitution movements that first began in the first half of the19th century and progressed until the first quarter of the 20th century, efforts were successful in passing a series of anti-prostitution laws. This resulted in ostracizing courtesans, who became synonymous with prostitution. They were gradually marginalized.

Soon after India's independence in 1947, a large number of land reforms were introduced to address issues of the equitable distribution of economic resources and growth. Numerous landed aristocrats who were the main patrons of courtesans lost their economic power. The economic backbone of the courtesan culture broke, and by the 1960s, the *tawaif* system henceforth declined and gradually disappeared. What remains now, in the present-day brothels of prostitutes in the various urban cities I researched, are mere reflections of their glory.

It was not easy to collect data and find facts relating to a community that remains ostracized, marginalized, and preferred to hide their association with a disgraced, "polluted" social group. Neither were they historically documented in any serious manner. Most written accounts on them celebrated and referred to them as sensational, glamorous entities. Apprehended as objects of sex and enticement, their histories were full of scandals and drama.

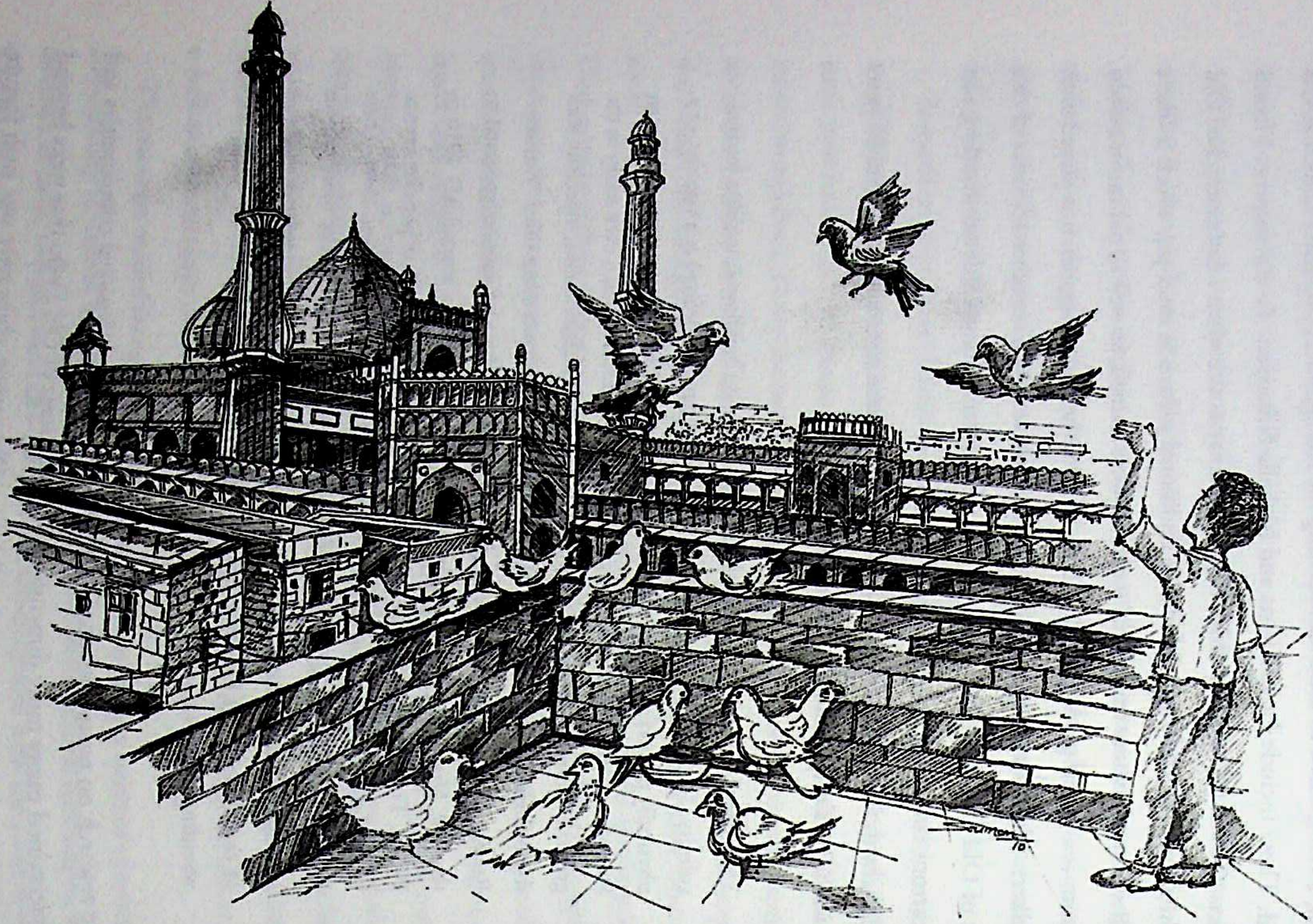
Research on the Chawri Bazaar in Old Delhi was mandatory, in addition to the neighborhood around the present-day Red Light area in Old Delhi, where prostitutes now reside. Chawri Bazaar was, until mid-20th century, the neighborhood where *tawaifs* lived. Today the bazaar specializes in hardware goods, copper utensils, antiques, wedding cards, and office stationery. Research on the changing history of the bazaar, the background of well-known *tawaifs* who lived in the area, and the social history of the landscape were some of the areas addressed and investigated. Oral sources included interactions with old patrons of *tawaifs*, old shopkeepers, musicians who accompanied them, and poets, all of whom expanded the understanding of exhibition of the field both in terms of its physical topography and the layers and shades of intangible heritage. My journey to research *tawaifs* led me to interact with unusual people, for example, I found a *maulvi* (generally means a Muslim religious cleric or teacher) who in earlier days was a pimp. *Maulvi sahab*'s mother was the head of the *tawaif panchayat*. I also came upon some unconventional written sources; this included two diaries, one kept by a courtesan and the other by a well-known musician of Delhi.

The resources needed for research include, more than anything, a spirit of adventure and curiosity to unravel the layers of heritage associated with cultural landscapes. For instance, in order to understand and compare the *tawaif* system with the present-day brothel setup, I dressed up as a man (as a Sikh, to be specific) and went with a friend, who is in the police, to the present-day red light area in Old Delhi. My idea was to link the old social organization of courtesan neighborhoods written and spoken of with the neighborhoods of present-day prostitutes. On reaching this part of Old Delhi, I was guided to areas surrounding the red light area popularly known as GB Road. These include Faraz Khana and Mohalla Nihariyan. To my surprise, I found aspects of cultural heritage which had escaped my notice when I first researched Old Delhi about a decade ago. I found a traditional *akhara* (a mud pit, which is like a small stadium) where traditional wrestlers were trained, as well as old carrom clubs (carrom is a board game played in India and, as the name suggests, it is played with a striker). My research generated the zeal to curate a walk on other activities of this part of Old Delhi. I went ahead to gather information on traditional wrestling and on carrom clubs.

Pehalwan Aminuddin was the main caretaker of the *akhara*; he was about 85 years old in 2001. From him I learned the following:

> This place is used for recreation and traditional body building. It is a sign for masculinity. In the olden days, being a *pehalwan* (commonly defined as a wrestler, or a physically powerful person, this Persian word means a champion or a warrior) was an art and a passion. It was an inherent activity in Old Delhi. In fact, even today in the grounds behind Jama Masjid, we have well-known *pehalwan* events, especially with those from Pakistan. In Old Delhi there was a well-known event titled "Rustum." Rustum was an Iranian mythological warrior king whose adventures appeared in the epic *Shahnama* (book of kings) written by poet Firdawsi around AD 1010 in Persia. Thousands of people came and continue to come to these popular events. In this *akhada*, *pehalwans* come to do some routine exercises, nothing more. There used to be a *pehalwan* neighborhood here but now all is gone. The most famous among *pehalwans* was Gama Pehalwan in the 1880s. He was a wrestler at the court of the Maharaja of Patiala in Punjab. He went to even participate in England in a wrestling competition ...[5]

The research on *tawaifs* made me discover fascinating professional communities and I determined many more dimensions of the heritage of Old Delhi that went beyond *havelis*, bazaars, and religious institutions. Old carrom clubs were one such feature that came into existence in the early part of the 20th century. Research on carrom



*Pigeon Flying (*Kabootarbaazi*), Jama Masjid* clubs added to the lists of leisure activities in Old Delhi that survive even today. These were pigeon flying, kite flying, poetry, and the performing arts of courtesans. In one of the dark back streets in the shadowed alleys was the magical world of Delhi's carrom clubs.

I reached KK Club at Faraj Khana. Different tables with the board game were laid out. The little room was full of players, the mood of cloak and dagger lurked. The light filtered from the tiny windows to fall on the faces that were concentrated on the game. Five lamps hung low to cast an orange light on five carrom boards. A bit of light is bouncing back onto the players—all men. Their eyes are glowing. The smell of boric powder, used for making the board smooth for sliding strikers, was mixed with the aroma of mutton kebabs. Players in different teams were defined by men with white or black strikers. Quietly, smoothly, the strikers slid on the boards in all directions—right, left, down, sideways, across. Once in a while, a striker fell into the corner pockets and a point was scored as players cried out '*wah*,' '*kya maara*,' and '*bahut khoob*' (wow, what a hit! well done). Sayeed Mohammad has been running the club for the last 60 years, and even today, despite the craze of cricket, football, and Bollywood films, his club has a membership of about 100 people. Mohammad *sahab* remarked just before I stepped back into the street,

> *Yeh pyaara khel hai, bahut sukoon hai. Idhar udhar bematalab ke liye bhagna bhi nahin parta hai. Yahan ke mohalle wale ate hain, aur ek saath baith kar khoob khelte hain. Is khel se aapasdari barhti hai.*
>
> [This is a lovely game, it gives a person peace. Unlike other games, in this game one does not have to run and waste energy unnecessarily. The participants come from the neighborhood around, they sit and play together, and this promotes fellow-feeling here.]

Such traditions embody not so old heritage, but today they not only represent new invented traditions that emerged in the culturalscape, but also carry with them a certain historicity that makes them a part of the traditional yet changing cultural landscape.

In my search for other features of cultural heritage, I discovered some astrologers who predicted using an Arab–Persian system of astrology, Kabbalah, based on a kind of numerology. Ustad Baloo Khan was sitting in a basement, with him was his brother Asad. Asad *sahab* was a well-respected fortuneteller who predicted by gazing at a swinging *tabeez*. I asked him about the *tabeez* and this is what he said:

> The *tabeez* (an amulet with Koranic inscription) is tied on a neck string or wristband. I believe that some sheikhs noticeably from India and Pakistan swear by effectiveness of these *tabeez* to ward off, for example, the evil eye, or relieve a person from some suffering. I use this *tabeez* to predict the future.[6]

Consequently, there was enough researched material to design and curate different thematic walks, which read the landscape with yet another perspective. The exhibit was thus titled "Happiness: Courtesans, Astrology and Traditional Wrestling." The research highlighted certain dynamics of the cultural landscape that represented a "contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of the social life within it as unchanging and invariant …"[7] The material provided for building narratives that could bring out the visual capacity of image making to enrich the understanding of the cultural heritage that remained a complex landscape with a number of layers, which could be made apparent with the presentation of suggested exhibits.

As expressed earlier, the skill and ability and the need to research for designing a living exhibition is tedious and long-drawn. In this regard I would like to refer once again to the annual Smithsonian Festival. The center starts to prepare for an exhibit focusing on a region of the world or of the United States, starting sometimes three or four years ahead. Curators from the Smithsonian are sent on field visits to research, to identify tradition bearers, to prepare community representatives to participate in the festival and to help identify cultural organizations and resource people who may help design an appropriate and well-represented exhibit.

Skills to design a walk include the innate attribute and capacity to create stories and the ability to think visually. I remember working on a small project on the city of Agra as a dancer and scholar along with another scholar who specifically specialized on the city with Rajeev Sethi, the well-known designer and much more. After we had provided the initial scholarly input, Sethi said: "Well! Now what you have narrated to us as wonderful hidden history, you now have to think of the history as visual imagery."[8]

Accordingly, collection of sufficient research material and the creation of an information base on a culturalscape generates ideas to present the exhibition field with a creative perspective:

> ... the exhibition team's ability to determine the authentic use of objects is grounded in its research. The acquired knowledge guides the team to establish the circumstances in which a specific object (aspect of the culturalscape) would have been used as well as the types of objects used in specific circumstances. (Or aspects of the culturalscape that exist within certain circumstances.)[9]

The focus of the theme provides the eye the tools to develop a story, design the route to walk—which I call the exhibition corridor—and to perform the narrative.

The performance of the narrative makes the study leader work to connect the exhibition field with the audience. Wherefore, the space between the culturalscape and the audience becomes an active space, which is colored with the sound and dramatic display of the narrative thematically presenting the focus of the walk. "Objects, ideas, and people are met in the interpretative exhibition, a kind of narrative form. It is a narrative concerned with re-presenting the past, making present that which is not usually present. This work can be seen as a kind of dramatic art."[10] The challenge for the curator and presenter is to use her imagination in order to design a walking tour and the ability to present it in a theatrical manner. The designing of the tour and the narration of what is showcased generate theoretical possibilities in and through performance while creating the ethnographic spectacle in a heritage walking tour.

It takes courage to present history as popular history; to transform esoteric academic research on the cultural landscape from various perspectives such as history and architecture or dynamics of complex sociology and polity into a presentation accessible to a larger number of people from various walks of life in society—native or foreigners, adults or children requires an inert intrepidity.

The study leader plays the role of a public intellectual as she aims to stretch the boundaries of teaching history and sociology and transforms it into an experiential phenomenon. With special reference to built heritage, monuments, and other buildings, the presenter as a public academician is challenged with the visual evidence of the standing heritage and the responsibility in reconstructing complex layers of past time to insert and be accountable for the structured interpretation that she makes on the selected designed heritage of an exhibition site. The intent is making history interesting and meaningful in contemporary life. Presentations of history past, present, and lived, walking tours are journeys of ideas that vary from political innovations, social events, and lifestyles to games and culinary practices.

> Ideas and historical themes are important parts of the interpretations presented in exhibitions. Through them, visitors are introduced to the intricate interplay between people and events that constitute the historical processes. This alters the concept of history, changing it from a succession of dates of important events to a maze filled with unexpected turns, surprises, and sometimes dead ends. These are the aspects of history that excite historians and engage the public.[11]

And yet, one has to be careful and perceptive. On many occasions, the breadth and width of historical layers regarding a cultural landscape have not been delved into—to take an example, histories such as that of bazaar spaces, living cultures, or personalities that defined the space at one time or another.

Much of that sense of history—which is really the history or histories of the common man—rather than remaining documented, seems to float on its own. The spaces have the potential of becoming contentious, and the sites or landscapes could be problematic:

> … the problem with regard to such disputed sites involves a whole sphere of beliefs, imaginings, and residual meanings that lie beyond the bounds of scientific knowledge … matters of faith, imagination or conjecture—seems invariably to intrude on the domain of archaeology … [here I would replace archaeology with cultural landscapes.][12]

The intricacies furnished above require the study leader to be extremely careful on one hand while interpreting cultural landscapes and on the other, the art of exhibiting the culturalscape requires her to be innovative and dramatic.

Consequently, in the context of narratives in walking tours, there are two parts. One is formulating the mother narrative as illustrated in the previous chapter with reference to Humayun's Tomb, and the other part is performing the narrative. The performance of the narrative is creating the production of a sensory index. In both parts, the concept of storytelling is central. The soul of the performances lies in the narratives. The idea of performance surrounding narratives of walking tours is both a verbal art and the manifestation of the verbal art as enacted culture, a point which I will elaborate later.[13] Preparing the storyline for the walking tour and then performing the story are the next steps in designing the walking tour. The study leader has to be adept in presenting the culturalscape in an imaginative manner. The creation of a story provides the content, which is then performed while executing the walking tours.

As a storyteller, the study leader assumes the role of both an exhibit producer and presenter. The story produced and presented needs to be bold, sensitive, and creative so that it grips the audience. Storytelling has been, since time immemorial, an inherent human activity in which people from all parts of the world have engaged. We tell, we listen, we read, and we watch stories. Whether they be imagined stories or real news stories presented in the media, stories are an important part of our everyday existence. Stories function to create images that are perceived consciously when told, read, or seen. They influence our lives and help us grasp the reality and the imagined reality around us. "Storytelling traditions have existed for centuries, adapting in content to the changing times, but often remaining the same in form."[14] The execution of walking tours integrates the skill of storytelling. Storytelling associated with walking tours represents a new kind of storytelling tradition. Performing the story during a walk is perceived as a verbal art that transforms into a performed art.

The performed narrative, popularly known as the *katha*, is often understood to mean simply "a story," but in fact it is more than the narration of a story; it a phenomenal performed story. In India, a "story" is first and foremost something that is told, and the Sanskrit root word *kath* from which the noun is derived means "to converse with, tell, relate, narrate, speak about, and explain."[15] *Katha* might thus better be translated as "telling" or "narration"; it signifies a performance and suggests a milieu. To tell a story means that there must necessarily be someone to hear it, and in Hindu performance traditions, the role of the "hearer" is generally a participatory one rather than a passive one.[16]

The roots of *katha*-style performance lies in the ancient Hindu traditions of the teacher–disciple dialectic and oral exposition upon existing sacred texts. The development of storytelling as a form of mass entertainment, however, was first reflected in the Sanskrit epics where the traditional narrator, the *suta*, originally a charioteer and royal herald, narrated "tales of wonder" to entertain priests and kings during breaks in sacrificial events.[17]

India, like other countries of the world, has not only a large variety of storytelling traditions but also specific castes who are assigned the professional status of a storyteller. Even today there are not only a large number of folk categories of performed storytelling genres but also specific caste communities who inherit this profession as specialists to reach out to thousands of Indians in cities, towns, and villages. They include, for instance, Kathakars and Bhopas. In the context of the walking tours, the study leaders also form a specific category of storytellers with their craft becoming a specialized kind of storytelling. This is not say that the role lowers the academic status of a public intellectual in any way; in fact it enhances her skills to reach out to a larger number of people.

The performance context of the tours provides a theatrical angle to activity. The study leader therefore also needs to be adept or at least trained in some kind of performing art such that she can play the role of a *sutradhar*. The classical Sanskrit drama was characterized by a number of stage conventions ranging from the symbolic construction of performance space, introductory to performance segments, and finally the entrance of the stage manager-director, the *sutradhar*, who formally invited the audience to view the play.[18] The word *sutradhar* refers to the show manager of theatrical performances (or a puppet player) and also literally means "string-puller" or "string-holder," exactly as does the Greek word *neurospasta*. The study leader wherefore not only commands the central position in the enactment of the walking tour but also controls the execution of the exhibit.

The walk itself is the enactment of the narrative. As the walk proceeds, there is the unfolding of visual dynamic canvases of heritage, both tangible and intangible; the built and the lived heritage are complimented by the performance of the narrative by the study leader. The entire presentation of the exhibit is a statement of performance, which from the Indian performance perspective can be defined as a *natya.* The Indian tradition defines the art of performance as *natya.* The concept of *natya* is seminal to the foundational text on Indian dramaturgy called the *Natya Shastra,* believed to have been compiled in 2nd century CE.[19] The text lays out an exhaustive structure of the complex conception of dramatic performance. In the olden days, the settings for dance, music, storytelling, and theater were usually open spaces where the audience sat all around the performers. Somewhat in a similar manner, walking tours as living exhibits are performances where the audience moves with the narrator in the performed space; the narrator creates the *natya* (drama) and the audience lives and experiences the *natya.* For instance, I organized a walk on secularism in India in Mehrauli. The walk designed started at the Yogmaya Temple, proceeded to the Jahaz Mahal on the lake called Hauz-e-Shamsi, and concluded at the Dargah Qutub Sahib, to which I have referred in an earlier chapter. The central part of the narrative was focused on describing the annual festival representing secularism, called "Phool Walon ki Sair."

The festival was started during the rule of the second last Mughal Emperor Akbar II (1806–1837). The British East India Company was already quite in control of the Mughal emperors. The British chose Bahadur Shah Zafar (the last Mughal Emperor) to be the heir apparent over the queen's favorite son Mirza Jahangir. Mirza Jahangir resented the decision of the British and impulsively tried to unsuccessfully shoot Seton, the British resident. The British exiled the prince to the prison in the city of Allahabad in the present-day north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. His grieving mother pledged that on the release of her son, she would make an offering of flowers at the Sufi shrine of Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in Mehrauli, Delhi. When the prince returned, the queen and the community around the Sufi shrine celebrated for four to five days. The queen ordered the creation of flower bedsheets as offering on the grave of the Sufi saint. It is believed that the shopkeepers around the area also created their own flower bedsheets also as offerings to both the Sufi shrine as well as to the Yogmaya Temple. This ritualistic tradition still continues as an annual event celebrating secularism. The entire festivities in the early days went on for four to five days, which now has grown to be an annual event that lasts three days.

On the first day of the festival, the procession of fans and flowers started from a monument called *Jharna* (waterfall). During the day, there were festivities comprising of musical shows and athletic meets including a swimming competition in the lake Hauz-e-Shamsi. The procession passed through the Mehrauli Bazaar and culminated at the Yogmaya Temple. On the second day, the procession returned. Starting from the Yogmaya Temple, it made its way to the Dargah of Qutub Sahib.

Between the evidence of the built heritage, there is space to recreate the history by facts written and myths narrated as oral stories. For instance, the caretaker of the temple Dayanand Valmiki told the audience:

> Yogmaya was Lord Krishna's sister who saved the life of her baby brother from the cruel wicked maternal uncle, Kansa, the king of Mathura. It is believed that Lord Krishna built the Yogmaya temple in memory of his sister to express his gratitude. Goddess Yogmaya gave a *darshan* [to view the image of the deity with one's eye, to see and to be seen by the deity] to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and warned him against touching her temple at Mehrauli ... Every year during the celebration of Janmashtmi, the birthday of Lord Krishna, we have singers who travel by foot from Old Delhi from a temple there and come and sing for the whole night. Today, I will demonstrate with the help of some of those singers who happen to be visiting to sing for you. Please join in the singing.[20]

As the singers began to sing, I joined in and motivated the audience to join as well. Experience became central to the cultural production since soon after they became a part of the exhibition presentation; and as if in a dream, they moved onto the next canvas in the walking tour.

> While we may be reluctant to admit it, the production of an exhibition is more akin to the production of a theatre piece than any other form.
>
> Like theatre, exhibitions are formed by a group of people who have highly individualized visions and styles, in a process in which compromise is the order of the day.[21]

The creation of the exhibit requires the presenter to be alive to the fact of creating images on a culturalscape with dramatic narratives. The pictures and images created in heritage walk exhibits exist on two levels—one are the sets of images that are seen and experienced by the audience as they exist in the environment they come to see. Those images could be that of a monument, its surroundings, scenes of happenings in a temple or a bazaar, and so on; the other sets of images are the ones painted in words by the presenter and other personalities like the community representatives.

Among the multiple skills required, the study leader needs to be an imaginative storyteller and yet she has to be careful to retain and use researched academic content on the facts about history, sociology, and the political aspects of a cultural landscape. The narrative cannot be totally structured since the exhibit moves and cultural heritage itself is dynamic and tends to project issues, visuals, and scenarios that have to be incorporated—as discussed in the earlier chapter. Several times, "guides" on cultural tours memorize narratives and present them verbatim, which results in curtailing the natural flow that ought to define exhibiting heritage in the living exhibit of a walking tour. The narratives, the performance, and the literal images seen need to be joined into creating a kind of a multimedia experience. The study leader needs to be aware of the complexity in developing the multimedia experience that is dynamic, human-created and not technology-controlled, and just as the images that are viewed need to be understood in terms of their movements, the sites of their journey from where they are viewed, also need to be differentiated.[22] These audiovisual experiences of chromatic images valorize the perception of the culturalscape. At the same time, the presenter has to be conscious that the creation of audiovisual images on a culturalscape requires her to critique the visuality with the sharpest theoretical skills and with the utmost sensitivity of an ethnographic sensibility. The awareness must be grounded in the historicity and politics of the environment. As Sumathy Ramaswamy comments in relation to visual cultures (and here I apply the same to the functionality of the presenter of the walking exhibit):

> So we are concerned with the agency of the visual/image and with visuality itself as an active, knowledge producing, and interested network of practices and ideologies in which producers and consumers are engaged. A hermeneutic of the visible in the modern Indian context also has to be grounded in an understanding of visual objects as inhabiting a public (and political) world—rather than a private hermetically-sealed off domain of aesthetic contemplation—where they are in dialogue with each other and with other agents of communication as they jostle for the attention of the beholder-turned-spectator/consumer. Ultimately it is the

> image's public presence that enables its pedagogic function of training the eye to see in particular ways of producing particular forms of visual knowledge and practices, and in helping to generate a society's codes and habits of seeing and being seen, its ideologies of visuality.[23]

Incorporating participation of community representatives and tradition bearers, building-in narratives related to unexpected events, or a description of changes in the culturalscape calls for impromptu creation in the presentation of the narrative, or rather, the story performed in the walks. Some skills to include unexpected elements are the ability of the presenter to co-opt community representatives by preparing them in advance so that the tradition bearers can join her as coactors in the performance of the story on the exhibit. Second, the adeptness of the presenter to cash on her own knowledge bank and to correlate unexpected events with the central theme can come in handy. The idea is to create impromptu narratives, which from within the performance studies in north Indian dance and music is known as *upaj ang* (impromptu creation) as inserts that add to the drama of the central story.

It is important for the presenter to adopt a humble attitude toward community representatives and at best try to be discreet and avoid clashing with representatives who might be aggressive. On one occasion I attended a walk conducted by a presenter in the premises of the Jama Masjid (the largest mosque in South Asia situated in Delhi). The presenter, I remember, was extremely arrogant with the person taking care of the entry of visitors. As a result, our group was not allowed to enter the mosque. The technique of incorporating community representatives and gaining their cooperation and involvement requires the presenter to be modest. It helps if the presenter interacts with community representatives in advance and gains their trust and permission to participate in the exhibit. The interaction provides an occasion to observe mannerisms of speaking and other habits peculiar to the tradition bearer and his traditional customs. For instance, once planning an exhibition in a Muslim school, I went and interacted with the principal and understood that their custom did not permit women to shake hands with men. Initial interactions with community participants provide the presenter a chance to understand the language in which the representatives may feel comfortable, and in doing so, provides a greater space to construct a synergized narrative before a forthcoming audience. They feel comfortable with the presenter, and together, the two enact a presentation of the heritage to be exhibited. To illustrate this point, I proceed to describe a walk titled "Later Mughal and Leisure Past Times," in Mehrauli, about which I have written earlier in the book. The walking exhibit comprises of built heritage such as some palaces, namely, the Jahaz Mahal and Zafar Mahal, stepwells, and the Sufi Shrine of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. An important element in the walk is the inclusion of the living heritage of organizing a live Sufi music concert by the traditional Sufi musicians of the shrine.

In order to create appropriate theatrical effect, the walk is conducted after sunset. The presentation is timed in a manner that the participants reach the Sufi *dargah* when the evening *dua* (call to God) is rendered and in the prayer, names of leading Sufi saints associated with that particular school of Sufism are recited. The haunting recitation of the *dua* is perceived as the essence of worship and is held just before the call for the *magreeb namaz* (prayers at sunset). The entry of the group in the *dargah* is therefore in a solemn environment. Smell of incense sticks mingle with the smell of Indian roses. The audiences, after taking a tour of the various buildings in the Sufi complex, gather in a small courtyard. The Sufi singers sit around with their instruments. As the presenter, I introduce not only the Sufi singers but also the chief caretaker of the Sufi shrine. In my introduction, I speak of Sufi music and the tradition of Sufi singers in the *dargah* and invite Qawwal Idriz to demonstrate what I explain. Idriz is one of the senior Sufi singers of the *dargah*. In order to incorporate him, I address him in the following manner: *Idriz bhai, zara qual sunao Allah Ho, jab zamin nahin thi jab asma nahin tha … too hee too jo tha…* [Brother Idriz, sing the call, "O Allah!" whose words are: When there was no earth when there was no sky, there was only you…Allah Ho!] Immediately, Idriz feels comfortable, he gets up and comes into the midst of the audience. He begins his performance by raising his hands to Allah, his eyes fill with tears as he begins to swing and sing in a loud, soulful voice. His voice echoes in the marble corridor facing the doors to the main sanctum. With him, the audience goes into a trance and the entire drama is effectively played out. Together, the presenter and the community representative are able to create a dramatic performance and a unique experience of the built and living heritage.

In yet another instance, on one occasion, during a walk in the shrine of the Sufi saint Hazrat Nizamuddin, I was able to convince the head caretaker Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani to present an introduction to Sufism. The Sufi master organized the interaction in the large "Khwaja Hall" where lie buried his father and mother. The hall is used for Sufi gatherings, retreats, and seminars. In his presentation on Sufism, he referred to the history of the Sufi neighborhood, the changes in the environment, he spoke about Sufism and its equation with orthodox Islam, and so on. What he stressed on was the journey of the Sufi, which was defined by love and peace, and how throughout his life a Sufi bemoans his separation from his beloved Allah. In the end, he introduced an essay written by his father Khwaja Hasan Nizami, one of the foremost scholars on Sufism in the 20th century. The essay was titled *Hichki* or "Hiccup" and symbolized the idea of remembrance. The temporal soul of a Sufi on earth fills with happiness when he hiccups, for he knows his beloved Allah is remembering him. The essay ended by referring to the last hiccup before death that brings a peaceful smile on the face of the longing soul, for he knows he is going to be united with Allah. Such interventions provided by community participants can only be realized when a study leader is sensitive to the tradition bearer; she must have the knack of provoking the participant not only to speak about his tradition but to be precise and brief in his presentation so as not drag and break the growing tempo of the production. Inclusion of community participation must also require from the study leader to assess the participant's communication skills and command over, if need be, English. This issue therefore requires discretion, patience, and an intuitive way of handling the person without hurting his sentiments on part of the study leader.

Participation of the community profoundly contributes to enhance the aspect of a holistic understanding of a culturalscape. Large numbers of monuments reflect the architectural scientific features, but as one of my resource people in Delhi, for example, said, "[the] description of buildings remains incomplete if it is limited to explaining architectural features; human stories associated with them lends them a life of their own. The buildings must perform and they can do this only when human stories are attached to them."[24]

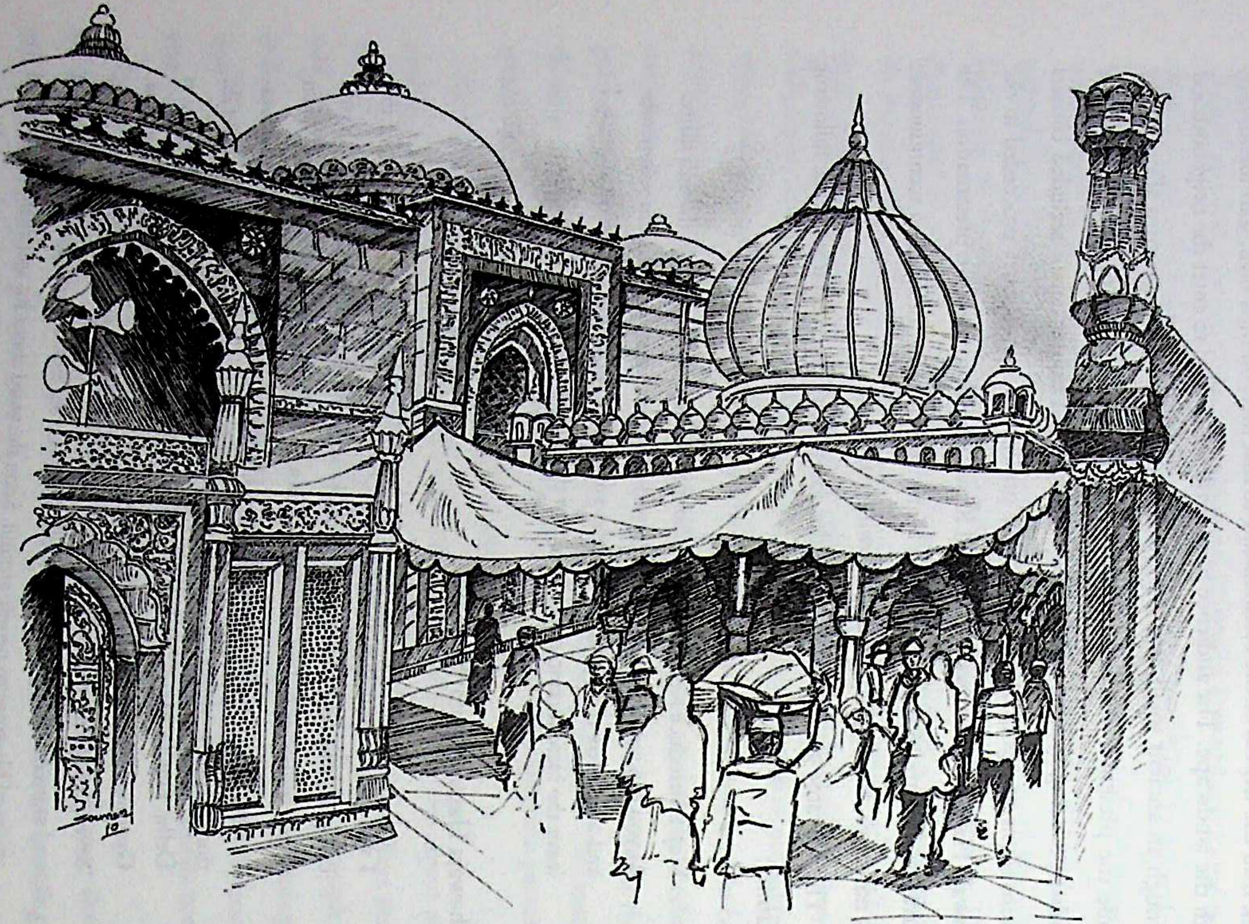
Inclusion of community representatives or tradition bearers could increase the representation of human stories. It is in this context that the skill of story making refers to both written and oral histories; it also takes into account various historical anecdotes on a number of aspects of the cultural heritage site. All these references to histories assist in reading a monument, a house, a built complex, or even a natural habitat. To illustrate this point, I will again go back to describe the walking exhibit in Nizamuddin complex. Prior to bringing in the Sufi master as a tradition bearer, care was taken to communicate the route to the audience. The plan was to let the audience walk into the depths of the culturalscape so that they, on their own, start identifying with the landscape. The audience henceforth was guided to enter the neighborhood through an ancient small, low, narrow door that opened into a narrow alley. All the while the presenter was required to pay attention to a dramatic description of the landscape being walked. They crossed several old houses, small secluded corners where silent graves marked the eminent presence of spirits. They proceeded to the Khwaja Hall. That was where I invited Khwaja Sahab to make his presentation. The narrative, incorporating the tradition bearer and allowing for space to accommodate his narrative, is presented in the following passages.

The narrator goes on to bring in the community representative in the following manner:

> May I introduce Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the head caretaker of the Sufi shrine. As you can see for yourself, he is dressed in distinct attire; he wears this yellow robe and a pointed yellow cap. His face as you can see is glowing with spiritual peace. I leave the introduction of the history of this area to him.[25]

Khawaja Hasan Nizami Sani says:

> I will speak about Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and a few interesting aspects of this complex. Hazrat Nizamuddin was born sometime during the 1230s in Badayun, which is situated in Uttar Pradesh. He is supposed to have died in his eighties. When he was just a young boy, his father died. His mother brought him to Delhi for education purposes. Mother and child survived in various parts of what is now called Old Delhi. Finally, Hazrat settled here in Nizamuddin. Those days this area was known as Gyaspur village. The village was situated on the banks of Sitari, a tributary of Yamuna. Several people from the village were fishermen. Nizamuddin liked the place instantly and started living here in a humble thatched roof hut. He meditated and provided spiritual blessings to people around. Soon the word about his spiritual power spread and people came to visit the *zinda pir* (a living saint) from far and near. He was known to heal the body, provide comfort to people with problems, and bestow spiritual peace. With time, his popularity gained him a large number of followers—poor and



Dargah of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya Chishti, Nizamuddin rich, weak and powerful, Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women. One of his followers, a noble called Ziauddin, built for him a *khanqah* (center), a traditional Sufi hospice designed to host gatherings of the Sufi brotherhood; it acted as a spiritual retreat. The *khanqah* as you know exists till date. The *khanqah* was surrounded by agricultural land. The entire area around the *khanqah* came to be known as the *basti* (traditionally, the *basti* was a tract comprising of forest area, which gradually became inhabited). This *basti* is today synonymous with the saint's name—Nizamuddin—and is famous for its shrine where the Sufi saint Nizamuddin lies buried. Today, the *basti*, marked by large number of people, has become congested and is quite dirty. Large numbers of inhabitants here do not know or even care to know the rich cultural heritage that surrounds them. Many people have illegally occupied areas around the shrine and the neighborhood and have built illegally, sometimes at the cost of heritage buildings. Today they do not even care or are aware of the spiritual origins of where they live and are not interested in the architectural monuments that exist close to their ragged lives. I live in my 13th century house that opens into the *dargah*. But for most pilgrims to reach the *dargah*, you have to fight your way through warrens of the old and the infirm whose makeshift plastic roofs or dusty odds and ends identify their minuscule places on the earth, past wayside stalls peddling garishly colored sweets and ribbons, ready-made packets of *taburuk* (rose petals), and other things that are made an offering of at the *dargah*. The shops sell rose flowers, coverings for the head, and talismans among several other things ...

As you will enter the main complex of the *dargah*, you will see the central courtyard with marble flooring, the tomb pavilion is enclosed by delicately trellised screens. As rich and zealous devotees contributed their bit to glorify the saint, the tomb acquired an ornate mother-of-pearl canopy, a veranda with engraved marble columns and brackets, and as late as the early 19th century, a huge marble dome with gold encrusted finials. The humble spirit of Hazrat Nizamuddin remains despite the show of grandeur and sometimes garish décor that marks his tomb. It is impossible not to be moved to devotion, especially when the *qawwals* sing impassioned verses in praise of the saint and the glory of Allah. Around the shrine are the steamy *dhabas* (roadway eateries) that dish out spicy meat recipes and thick soft rotis (bread) to soak up the gravy. Several other structures make the Nizamuddin complex a place worth visiting.

Across the tomb enclosure, to the west, is the red sandstone Jamat Khana Mosque built on the spot where Nizamuddin himself prayed and sermonized. Probably constructed in 1325, it is a composite structure of three domes over three bays, the central one being the largest. One of the telltale signs that establishes the period of building before the prolific King Feroze Shah Tughlaq period (1351–1388) are the marble lotus buds that fringe the arches, while the arches themselves are bent so as to make the square bays appear octagonal. On the northern side of the *dargah* is a *baoli* (a stepwell), which lies in a dilapidated condition and is used to throw garbage. Even though historians date the *baoli* back to the reign of Feroze Shah Tughlaq (1351–1388), oral history has it that the work started during the rule of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq (1320–1325). Ghiasuddin Tughlaq did not get along with Hazrat Nizamuddin. On several occasions there was a clash of interest between the king and the saint. Legend says the *baoli* was being built when the imperious Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, angered by the saint's refusal to pay back money to the royal coffers that he had given away in charity, forbade its further construction. Moreover, Nizamuddin had prophesied that Ghiyasuddin's son, Prince Jauna (Mohammad bin Tuglaq) would become the sultan, which he did by manipulating his father's death. Moreover, the construction of the *baoli* coincided with the construction of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's fort. So he ordered all the laborers in the city to work at his construction site and banned any other construction work in the city. The workers decided to work for the *baoli* at night with the help of the light of oil lamps. When Tughlaq found out about this, he got angry and forbade the shopkeepers to sell oil to the people in Gyaspur. By this time, the workers had already hit water level and some amount of water had already surfaced. Hazrat Nizamuddin asked his disciple Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud to take some of this water in a lamp and light it. When he did this, the water started to burn like oil. It is from here that this disciple got the title of Raushan Chiragh-i-Dihli—burning lamp of Delhi—and came to be known as Hazrat Chirag Dehli.

A few other minor monuments dot the Nizamuddin complex, but within the *dargah* enclosure itself is the delicate Tomb of Jahanara, Shah Jahan's daughter and a disciple of the Chisti saint. She is said to have built it during her lifetime, inscribing it with the touching words: "The Lord is the life, all he sustains. Let no one cover my grave let it be covered with only greenery. For the poor this grass is a sufficient tomb. The abated yogini Jahanara, Disciple of the the Lord of Chisti, Daughter of Shah Jahan the brave warrior, May God keep this evidence lighted."[26]

A pilgrimage to Nizamuddin is incomplete without a visit to two of the other graves, one surrounded by marble *jalis*, that of Amir Khusro, the saint's most devoted disciple and poet whose mystic verses are sung by every *qawwal*; and the other, simpler one of yet another writer, Mirza Ghalib, perhaps the greatest Urdu and Persian poet to have ever lived. Chaunsat Khambe is another interesting structure, which lies behind the *mazaar* (grave) of Mirza Ghalib, and is actually the tomb of Mirza Shamsuddin who was the brother of Mirza Aziz Kokantash, and their mother had breast-fed King Akbar. It was Akbar who had got the tomb constructed after Shamsuddin had been murdered. The *markaz* (a central meeting point), a building which is situated opposite the Ghalib Academy and which is a mosque-cum-resting-place for the *jamats* (groups of people who travel from place to place propagating religious fervor amongst Muslims), is another structure of historical importance. There was a *bagh* (a garden), Baghiche-Anarkali, where now the *markaz* is. The *bagh* was last owned by two brothers, Mir Taqi and Mir Naqi. The *bagh* was originally owned by the in-laws

> of Ghalib. Sitari, a tributary of River Yamuna, was the source of irrigation for this spectacular *bagh*. Goods were transported to this part of the city via the river. Mir Taqi and Mir Naqi had got a *baradari* (a building having 12 arched doors used in hot weather) built in the *bagh* for leisure. People called this a bungalow because it had a sloping roof instead of a dome, which was the Islamic way of building. The sloping roof was the influence of British architectural style ...[27]

So concluded the narrative of the tradition bearer.

The presenter has to be extremely conscious that her interaction with the tradition bearer has to be such during the latter's presentation that her presence should neither be too interfering nor too passive. She must intuitively know when to intervene and do so to just the extent required to provoke an interesting response from the community representative. This brief interface gives a chance to both the main presenter and the community representative to play the role of effective storytellers. For example, the tradition bearer was encouraged to describe several other features unique to the complex of the Sufi landscape. The unplanned expansion of the narrative on the complex created a drama, which enhanced the experience of the walk. His manner of speaking was a performance in itself; what can be called a verbal art:

> Performance, as we conceive of it and as our examples have been selected to illustrate, is a unifying thread tying together the marked, segregated esthetic genres and other spheres of verbal behavior into a general unified conception of verbal art as a way of speaking. Verbal art may comprehend both myth narration and the speech expected of certain members of society whenever they open their mouths, and it is performance that brings them together in culture-specific and variable ways, ways that are to be discovered ethnographically within each culture and community.[28]

In order to continue the magic created by him with his presentation, I not only encouraged an interaction of the audience with the Sufi master but also continued to exhibit most of the heritage he had explained and much more. At the end of the cultural performance, the audiences were overwhelmed with the experience. One participant remarked on leaving the environment of the shrine: "It has been like coming out of a movie theater!"

Sometimes, the incorporation of community participants can be tricky, and it is upon the presenter to handle the situation on ground. For example, in Old Delhi I often take visitors to a well-known Sikh temple—Gurudwara Sheesh Ganj. The institution is read and exhibited in various ways. Since the site is now a popular stop for several tourist ventures, the committee of the Sikh temple organize tourist groups to be received at a reception where the visitors are able to safely leave their footwear and are given head scarves and pamphlets on the Sikh religion. A man on duty usually asks the audience to ask him any questions. Once, while I was introducing the Sikh religion, its history and sociology, he aggressively informed the audiences that I was incorrect in my understanding of the Sikh religion, which according to him "preceded Hinduism." Since he is on duty most days of the week, I now avoid making my presentation on Sikhism in the reception area. Sometimes histories recounted by community participants, like the fact referred to above, can be made up histories, and it is the responsibility of the presenter not only to avoid hurting the community representative, but to gracefully correct the information in a discrete manner when an occasion presents itself during the walk. It is these kinds of histories that create the politics of heritage.

While the obviously controversial site of Ayodhya's demolished Babri Masjid[29] remains locked in the tussle between the evidential play of archaeological history and notion of popular belief—the immense complexity to understand and interpret myth, history, and communal politics and interrelate in a complex way how this other domain of myth, memory and invented traditions, and a host of counter-meanings and associations surround not only monuments but also historicity and the development of religions, as illustrated earlier, and sometimes in the presence of the self-appointed representative of a community who may be not really be needed by the presenter, can, for the presenter of the exhibit, remain a challenge and one that has to be handled rather sensitively.

One significant skill of storytelling in walks is that of creating spaces for silence. The effect of what the participant hears and sees needs to be absorbed. For instance, Khwaja Sahab, while describing the traditions of Sufism, said that the Sufis pine for uniting with Allah. He read and translated the essay "Hiccup" until he reached the end and paused. There was a silence of nearly a minute before he continued to read the climax of the essay, where he described the last hiccup that occurs before death. As mentioned before, for the protagonist in the poem, it was a happy moment, a moment of bliss since he knew that finally the moment to be united with Allah had arrived. Once the reading was over, there was silence in the room. The audience was enraptured. They experienced, relished, and lived the silence created by the story. The skill of incorporating silence in the narration of the story in the walk is essential to create a dramatic effect. Describing the value of silence as an inherent part of the Iranian tradition of storytelling, Sohrab Khajehhejad quoted the French writer Andre Malro who wrote that "the elephant is the most intellectual animal since it spends plenty of hours standing and thinking without any movement. The thought requires the longest silence; in other words, the elephant creates the longest silence."[30] Khajehhejad said that inserting silence in storytelling stimulates imagination in the minds of the audience; it also provides excitement and suspense in the presentation. To illustrate yet another example, I wish to take this opportunity to describe the aesthetic pleasure of a particular sculpture at the Sarnath museum near Varanasi. Sarnath was where Lord Buddha broke his silence after his enlightenment and gave his first sermon.

Sarnath has been a vitally important archaeological site. It has yielded innumerable sculptures, artifacts related to the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. In the museum there is a 5th century statue of Buddha determined by several art historians as one of the finest sculptures of India. The Buddha is placed at the end of a central gallery, the approach to which is a walk where the audience has to cross a gallery of Buddha statue on either side. The statue itself comprises of Budhha sitting cross-legged in the lotus posture, with eyes downcast, concentrating on the nose, a smile on the face communicating peace and a sense of internal peace, and a halo surrounds his head.

I learned to bring out the glory of the statue from Dr. Anand Krishna Dev, one of the leading art historians living in Varanasi, and since then I too have continued to show various audiences the statue in the same manner. I request the audience to slowly walk down the gallery looking at the statue at the end of the hall where there is small light shining from above. I request them not to be diverted by any other sculpture that lines the side of the hall. On reaching the statue, I ask them to look at the face of Buddha in "silence." On most occasions, after the journey to Buddha is complete, I often find that the only phenomenon that breaches the silence are silent tears rolling down the cheeks of the audiences.

In my view, silence contributes to the creation of the poetic image. The narrator as a storyteller also becomes a poet. His presentation of verbal art tends to acquire a shading of poetry. The skill of creating images where only standing ruins exist is an inherent aspect of the theatrical presentation of a culturalscape. In the earlier chapter, for instance, the act of recalling the creation of the caravans in Arab ki Sarai in the complex of Humayun's Tomb illustrated the creation of poetic images. Patrick Houlihan quoting Gaston Bachelard, in his essay on Poetic Image and Native American Art, writes:

> The image, in its simplicity, has no need of scholarship. It is the property of a naïve consciousness; in its expression, it is youthful language. The poet, in the novelty of his images, is always the origin of language. To specify exactly what a phenomenology of the image can be, to specify that the image comes before thought, we should have to say that poetry, rather than being a phenomenology of the mind, is a phenomenology of the soul.[31]

Reception of the story depends on the knowledge, flow, and communication of the presenter in conjunction with the perceptual skills of the audience. In fact, in many instances, the sharing takes place between the narrator or the community representative and the audiences. The skill of theatrical presentation unites with other skills such as the design of the exhibit, the assemblage, and the content of the narrative. The narrator is conscious that an effective dramatic presentation is possible only when there is cohesion between the different aspects of the story that combine the visual, cultural, and political dimensions of the heritage.

Linking the producer's interest with those of the audience(s) engages the study leader to aspire to skills that will assist in relating with the audience. In this context I want to refer to the notion of Rasa, an Indian concept that is central to the understanding of the performer–audience relationship. The concept is a unique contribution of Indian aesthetics to the world of art in understanding in the broadest sense what can be translated as the understanding of aesthetic delight. The *Natya Shastra* was the first text to mention this concept.[32] It is the notion of understanding the emotional effect of art on the mind of the audience. But in relation to performance, it communicates something more dynamic. The performer creates a certain mood through the performance of the narrative for the audience. The process of such communication is compared to the oozing of sap, emotional juice (Rasa), from the performer to the one who observes the performance. This extract of the performance denotes a taste or a flavor which is to be relished by the observer. This is the aesthetic experience explained with the help of the notion of flavors or *rasas*. According to the Indian traditions, there are nine different flavors, namely, love (*shringara*), comedy (*hasya*), pathos (*karuna*), anger (*raudra*), heroism (*vira*), fright (*bhaya*), repulsion (*vibatsya*), surprise/wonder (*adbhuta*), and quiescence (*shanta*).

When the presenter or the community representatives perform the narrative/story, they submerge themselves in the words and with the texture of the story. The performance aims to communicate and produce a dramatic mood. In turn, with the enactment of the story, the "juice" flows from the performer to the audience, motivating the latter to react and respond with a mood or *bhava*. His (audience) response transforms the audience from being a passive observer into an active entity; he becomes a *rasika* (enjoyer of the Rasa). Together the performer and the audience create a "complete" performance.

The audiences' response is based not only on the theatrical delivery of the narrative, but also on the external setting of the exhibition field. As he (audience) walks, each vignette communicates a "juice," whose aesthetic expression is enhanced with the deliverance and reception of the performed narrative that accompanies the visual display. That is, the visual display exhibited by the exhibit maker is complimented by the audio effect of the narrative. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, in an interview with Franklin Adrian, quoted the term "Proselytourism," coined by her student Craig Rosa, to describe a performance of impression management, which enables diasporic groups to create positive value from the representations of their heritage.[33] Here I am taking this term a bit further to extend and relate it to a group of audience that participates in attending a walking exhibit and getting acquainted with heritage in its natural environment. An understanding is created by the performative, theatrical, and well-informed ability of the study leader.

The narrator as a *sutradhar* is an inherent actor in the exhibit and also becomes the central character in the cultural display constructed by the *sutradhar* for the audience to see and experience. Elaine Gurian, quoting Pierre Bourdieu from the introduction of his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, writes:

> A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded … A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colors and lines, without rhyme or reason … Thus, the encounter with a work of art is not 'love at first sight' as is generally supposed.[34]

As I stated at the beginning of the chapter, there is a process and technique with which the presenter links the audience with the cultural field. The presenter prepares the audience to relish the exhibit he produces. The space of action to create the link lies between the audience and the exhibition field and is activated with the assistance of the performed narrative. The narrative performed by the central actor (the presenter), or the *sutradhar*, functions to connect the audience with the culturalscape. The presenter's role is not only limited to being a performer but expands to the role of being the producer of the exhibit. She weaves her way, taking the audience from one canvas to the other, exhibiting different aspects of the heritage of a culturalscape; intertwining the theme of the woven fabric as she moves around.

The audience as a *rasika* is an active part of the performance. He is not passive, but contributes to the making of the complete picture. Using another analogy, the presenter is similar to a photographer who exposes different photographs of the culturalscape to the viewer; in my view, the viewer influences the photographer in the manner she takes the photograph. As such I partially agree with what Gurian writes:

> In analyzing photographs, the roles played in the creation process by the photographer, the photographic subject, and the viewer need to be considered. A photograph is a cultural artifact that articulates a photographer's visions, biases and concerns. It also allows the contemplation of the photographic subject ... In addition to the photographer and the photographic subject, a silent participant—future viewer—influences the creation of photographs.[35]

The participant is not really silent; he is participative and becomes in a subtle way a coactor with the *sutradhar*. To expand on this, I describe a walk that I designed a few years ago. The walk was designed for the late Benazir Bhutto, a former prime minister of Pakistan. By describing this walk, I wish to illustrate how the audience became a coactor in the performance of the exhibition. The walk is not recounted in isolation of a onetime exhibit but the narration continues in narrating incidents linked to the exhibit long after. To me, it would always remain the supreme example of how a participant became the main actor. Four years after I had taken her for the walking tour, she was assassinated in December 2007. I put together the entire event in a small homage to her, which I write of below.

In November 2003, one of the mainstream English newspapers, the *Hindustan Times*, requested that I lead a Delhi Heritage Walk with Benazir Bhutto to visit the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin. I was to meet her at the Hotel Maurya Sheraton in Delhi where she was attending the Hindustan Times Leadership Summit. As a cultural professional, I felt challenged! The question was what could I show a Muslim initiated as a believer of Sufism something new? I had done a significant amount of research on the Shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin, the Sufi caretakers, and the Bhuttos' association with the shrine. Apart from the fact that not only her paternal grandfather, her parents, and brothers had visited the shrine, Benazir had visited the shrine and performed prayers and pilgrimages.

Benazir and I spent about three hours traveling to the grave of our erstwhile President Fakruddin Ali Ahmed where she stopped to pray and pay homage. She told me that her mother had special relations with the family of the former president. Our next stop was to the residence of the former Prime Minister I. K. Gujral. On the way to the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin, I confided to her that we had made special arrangements to visit Khawaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the main caretaker of the shrine who had agreed to welcome her, give her blessings, and show her some unusual photographs of her and her family's visit to the *dargah*. I also told her that the house of the Sufi *pir* (teacher) was behind the *dargah* and security arrangements had been made along the way for her to go to his house and then enter the shrine from within his house. Just as we were about to turn in for Khawaja Hasan Nizami Sani's house, she caught my hand and said: "Navina, I cannot go this way, I cannot see any policemen, I am afraid. Until I myself see security in uniform, I will not go. You know, Navina, my life is in constant danger!" As an active participant, she took control of the exhibit. She chose the route of the cultural exhibiting. I became a participant and she the presenter. As a result, we went into the *dargah* through the usual way, which was her wish.

Once we reached the shrine, she performed her prayers and sought the blessings of the Sufis in residence. Benazir then proceeded to a small room within the *dargah* where she sat with an old Sufi caretaker. He showed her several photographs of her family's visit to the shrine. As an active participant of the exhibit, she sat and saw the photographs, she conversed with the Sufi. She remembered her relatives and wished that her children could come to the shrine for blessings. What struck me was that she asked the Sufi about five times as to when she would return to her homeland and when would she wear the *Taj* (crown)? (*Mein watan kab lautoongi? Taj kab pahenoongi?*) The Sufi had replied: in 2007!

I, in my present role of the audience, reacted. This interlude haunted me for days. As she came out, I was struck by a certain sense of the agony of exile that permeated her. When she was assassinated in December, 2007, I went to visit some Sufis in the *dargah*. I write their reactions, which I now use in some of my presentations of the heritage walks at the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin.

> Her self-imposed exile—the forced removal from one's native country, as banishment or expulsion from home—had left her a lonely, displaced person. Her pathos was similar to the separation of a Sufi's soul from Allah. Exile in this sense is a condition, a real dislocation in the political, social, and geographical space. She had embraced exile as a space from within which she reviewed her role, her place in history, and might have pondered her fate of who she was.
>
> Both in its political sense and a metaphor, exile has a life as long as recorded human history; it is not just about the social relations that separate people from home and homeland but a way to capture the suffering that ensues from all forms of estrangement. Rumi says in his book *Masnavi* that the reason why a child cries the first moment after it is born on earth is because it realizes its exile from the higher place. It is unhappy because it seems captive in this worldly body. Explaining the idea of the captivity of the spirit, Rumi narrates a Koranic story. It says that God made a statue of Adam and asked the Ruth to enter into the body but it refused saying: "Lord, I do not want to be imprisoned in this physical body." Then God told the angels to sing and dance, and on hearing their song and with the rhythm of the dance, the soul went into delight, and in that condition it entered the body. Rumi says that the reason why every soul is longing to attain something is that it is in exile and a captive in this physical body.
>
> Being a woman, she had already traversed a road of resistance to find an identity. Benazir constantly sought courageously to remake a new identity. History was repeating itself again. She was like Razia Sultan who, as a Muslim woman, ruled the Indian subcontinent in the 13th century and was martyred.[36]

As Benazir returned from her exile to Pakistan on October 17, 2007, she joined her hands in prayers. In my conversation with Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, he said that the image of her praying was unique in its essence: *woh dua thee Allah mujhe kubool kar lo, woh aam dua nahi thee!* "It was a prayer to Allah to end her exile, and accept her in his arms. From her gestures and expression it was not an ordinary prayer!" Yes! She returned from her exile to her homeland, Pakistan, she wore the *Taj*, and she is reunited with the Almighty. Benazir was the temporal soul that was separated and was in exile and, as is said in the Koran, "to God we belong, to Him is our return ... Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts may learn wisdom and their ears may learn to hear? Truly it is not their eyes; rather it is their hearts which in their chests are blind."[37]

The experience of taking the late Benazir Bhutto to the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia illustrated the manner in which the audience, far from remaining passive, took charge of the exhibition; in fact, she became the *sutradhar*, and in some places the audience, while I became a coactor and an audience. "Regardless of exhibition content, producers (of exhibitions) can choose strategies that can make some portion of the public feel either empowered or isolated."[38] As a presenter, I had to adapt my presentation to suit the curiosity and the objectives of the participant. Her main objective was a pilgrimage. I padded my presentation by involving the tradition bearers, in this case the Sufis in residence, to enhance her experience at the *dargah*. Second, the exhibit did not simply end with that one particular walk but the impressions of the walk went on to add contents to the main narrative on *dargah* of Nizamuddin.

Emotive content is an important part of the performance of the walking exhibit. The emotional content is a pragmatic aid to link the audience with the presenter and expand the effects of the exhibit. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton's book *The Meaning of Things* suggests that it is the emotional overlay we place on impersonal subjects that transforms them into subjects of meaning.[39] It is in this context that the Rasa theory becomes quite relevant. The emotive content is understood as an important element binding the audience, presenter, and the culturalscape.

To elaborate this point, I would like to discuss again the walk in Nizamuddin that I presented as a part of the program on peace building. The workshop was titled "Education for Peace and Multiculturalism: National Workshop for Educators" organized by WISCOMP (Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace: an initiative of the Foundation of Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama; the Foundation was started with the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to His Holiness in 1989) in April, 2008. It brought together 40 school educators, scholars, and practitioners from different parts of India and Pakistan to explore theoretical and practical perspectives on the role that educational institutions and schoolteachers can play in building a "culture of peace." The workshop was organized with the objective of providing a space to build synergy between theory and praxis in education for peace within multicultural societies.[40] The title of the walk was "Sufism: A Symbol of Syncretic Culture in India and Pakistan." The walk introduced the complex of the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia along the following lines:

> Exhibiting heritage for young school children really implies stretching the borders of learning to an experiential level. It can cover social, political and economic issues. Today, as we view the Shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, we adopt a specific lens—that of Syncretism in India. Conflict of identities especially between the Muslim and Non Muslim identity is of great concern. Cultural stereotyping and twisted beliefs form a part of cultural generalizations which have great effectiveness in fixing our way of thinking.[41] As teachers we have to build on commonality (therefore be syncretistic) and also make children aware of the various diverse identities of an individual. A Muslim, for example, is not only a Muslim; what about the questions of gender, class, neighborhood, living? Therefore it is important to broaden the understanding of other people and other groups so that the children are given the choice of respecting "the other" on the bases of components of other identities. Education must expand reasoning. The exercise of the cultural heritage walk has to have a particular focus. Second, there must be an attempt to highlight features that will be of a child's interest; third, the exhibiting must have within the context of presentation a dramatic theatrical element. Unless you are a good performer, you can never be an effective teacher. I will now give a small introduction to Sufism in India. A brief history will refer to the manner in which the Sufis successfully introduced Islam as a foreign cultural heritage in an alien cultural landscape without the "sword" but by peaceful means of providing free food, *barkhat* or blessings, and peace through Sufi music. They also popularized Islam by means of Indianizing the culture of practiced Islam at the grassroots.[42]

My introductory narrative laid the base for the walk. I then had the 40 educators following me into the complex of the shrine. One particular educator from Kashmir contributed to my explanation of the role of Sufis in India, especially Kashmir. Another brought my focus to the imaging of some Muslim characters in television serials that promote stereotyping. She alluded to the characterization of Mohammad Ghori in a serial and said that it portrayed the invader with only negative qualities, while his opponent, the Hindu King Prithviraj Chauhan, is the one with all the good qualities. The participant took the stage and narrated how no one mentions Ghori's interest in patronizing education and learning. For instance, she said that he patronized the poet Fakh-ud-din Razi. Since Ghori had no heirs, he treated his slaves as his sons. It is believed that he trained thousands of Turkish slaves in fighting and in administration. Many slaves in his reign rose to high positions, she concluded. The manner in which the narrative was taken over by a participant illustrates how an exhibition field provides an opportunity to the audience to contemplate and creates a space to participate and debate. Of course much depends on the study leader and how she incorporates audience participation in the walk.

> Exhibitions need to support both individual learning and social interactions. Many people do not want to display their ignorance in front of strangers, and so learning opportunities will need to be designed that simultaneously encourage social interaction among members of the visiting party and private contemplation.[43]

The triangular play between the existent culturalscape, the presenter, and the audience brings into play several dimensions. In order to synergize the audience with the culturalscape on one hand, and on the other, to make them participative so as to make the exhibit a ground for debate, the study leader has to effectively execute the performed narrative and provoke the audience to display their participation at the same time.

The manifold responsibilities surrounding the study leader include some simple on-site management skills. Just as there is a technical side to museum exhibits or a performance in an auditorium, there are some basic principles distinct to walking tours. For instance, it is the responsibility of the study leader to make sure that while narrating, her voice should be able to reach each and every one present in the audience. Second, the language must be such that it can be easily be understood by all the audience. Quite often, if one is an academic, there is a tendency to use technical language related to a body of knowledge, which cannot be understood by all and sundry. If the tour is in the open, one has to gauge in what condition the communication between the presenter and the audience can be most efficient and effective. One of the basic rules is to always address the audience in relatively secluded places where the voice of the presenter carries to all. Second, it is important that the study leader in the role of a performer picks a higher level than the audience to address them. The presenter must

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take care never to speak with her back to the audience to ensure that she is audible to each participant.

It is important that the audience is told beforehand about the code of dressing, or even simple rules of carrying head covers, mosquito repellants, sunscreen, water, and shoes that can be easily taken off and put on. A visit to most religious institutions in India, for example, requires all visitors to remove their footwear, or the rule in sacred heritage complexes of leaving behind at the entry intoxicants such as cigarettes or alcohol. At times, there may be places where the feet might get wet; hence, it is important to warn, especially women participants, not to wear stockings. The visitors must be also told rules they must follow while moving with a group. I have experienced on several occasions that some visitors like to form groups and they get involved in each other, or some of them get distracted by photography; as a result, the group splits and on-site management of the group becomes difficult for the study leader. Engineering a crowd of say 20–30 people in a bazaar can be quite challenging. The study leader needs to make sure that some simple instructions are imparted to the audience at the start of the walking exhibit. The presentation of the narrative has to be done in parts, and therefore it is essential that the study leader picks various sites to address the audience in order to create a cohesive storyline. The choice of the sites has to be convenient and effective for both the audience and the presenter herself. It is always good to make introductory remarks before the audience walks in a chaotic bazaar or crowded area. The instructions must make sure that the audiences know that they need to keep together, and for practical purposes it is always better to make them walk in a single file. Placing a coworker at the end of the file is a good way to ensure that the participants all stay together.

The tonal quality of delivering the narrative has to be carefully thought out. It is important to bring in humor, and encourage questions and remarks so that the audience is participative and contributes to the group comradeship. In an auditorium or a movie hall, the closed space provides for such binding; in walking tours, interaction between the participants and between the presenter and the participants ensures the binding. The entire group must be encouraged to create a dream experience together.

Keeping all these factors and skills in mind, one really thinks about the kind of training the study leader has to undertake. There is no doubt that studies in history, sociology, anthropology, political science, art history, architecture, archaeology, and so on are part of the holistic approach to the academic input, but the academic qualifications have to be supplemented by language skills, communication adeptness, and theatrical abilities. Alongside, a sense of simple management skills and sensitivity to the audience are the necessary components required to develop into a successful study leader. In order to manage and develop a multifaceted personality, it is important that the study leader continues to be extremely disciplined and resorts to regular practice of academic learning and the practical designing and execution of walking exhibits. Analyses of this internal discipline I will explore yet again from within the Indian context of the notion of *riyaz*.

Riyaz is an Arabic word which means abstinence, devotion, discipline, and hard labor. It deals with memories and notions infused in the individual through repeated practice, osmosis, and intense observation and practice, which are then manifested as an ideal enactment. Improvisation and play are in fact quite integral to the designing and performance of the walking tours. In *riyaz*, one has to master the subtleties and has to have a proper understanding of the technique and method of the dynamics of the genre of walking tours in order to innovate in the presentations. Each walking tour is like an individual creative performance, even if it is repeated.

Riyaz cannot merely be thought of as practice or repetition with the desire of learning a routine. Neuman assures the skeptical individual that "it is not only preparation for the performance, but also a preparation for an unattainable perfection. It is a learning experience for which there is never an end, only successive stages."[44] The combination of mental and physical perseverance is consistent in all aspects of Indian culture, and *riyaz* is simultaneously the basis of the common cultural attitude as well as the method for ensuring this basis. In the North Indian performing arts tradition, there are series of notions adapted from Sufism in the context of the making of a cultural profession of exhibiting heritage.[45] I propose some of these tenets as essential behavioral attitudes that can assist in developing an effective professional mindset associated with occupation of exhibiting heritage.

Viewed as a complex professional occupation, the cultural professional employed in exhibiting cultures combines a mindset to continue deep-rooted academic research, a creative and imaginative mind to design exhibits of cultural heritage, and performance skills to execute effective walking tour exhibits. It may seem rather outdated, but these methods have worked for centuries for people who have strived to acquire in-depth knowledge and then used that to express themselves creatively. It has paid to remain honest in attempting to grip the academic culture of their field and has been reflected in successful performances that have made many of them the performing legends of their times.

I would want to recount some practices that relate directly to the idea of *riyaz*. *Chilla* is associated with both inculcating discipline as well as regular practice. It comprises of a 40-day vow. Very often, this is taken at the behest of a teacher, but as one matures in a profession, it is self-imposed as a way to discipline oneself. The vow implies that for 40 days, the person who pledges the vow will undertake regular practice of a certain thing, limited to a certain place, for a certain time of day or night. For instance, the vow could be to recite a certain hymn or practice a specific part of an art for six hours after sunset in a particular place. Quite often, practitioners of *chilla* extend the vow from one *chilla* of 40 days to three consecutive *chillas* of 120 days. The regular practice sets off to transform from a vow to a habit. The program of practice translates into an internalized schedule.

> *Riyaz*, my ancestors said, was *kasrat* [constant exercising and tuning of mental and physical faculties so that there is a unity of being between spirit, mind, and body]. There are two parts to it, the physical manifestations in terms outward practice, and the mental which manifests itself in silence and is empowered by imagination, creativity, and intuition. In Sufism, it is known as *Zikr Zahar* and *Zikr Khafi*—remembrance in sound, and remembrance in silence. Together, *riyaz* becomes *muraqba* meditation in Sufism.[46]

Without *riyaz*, it is not possible to either cultivate multiple skills or to balance manifold responsibilities and coordinate the various aspects that make the fabric of walking tours. In India, every creative, innovative impulse was perceived as an offering to the divine. If the divine is viewed as an entity that exists within, it was understood that each creative act was an attempt to fulfill oneself to understand the divine within. Late Ustad Bismillah Khan, one of the greatest musicians from North India, once said of *riyaz*:

> ... but only when *riyaz* [practice] becomes *ibadat* [worship] is it really *moksha* [salvation, which in the Indian understanding means escape from the cycle of birth and rebirth]. *Nahi toh yeh vidya amiron ke ghar pani bharti* [or else, this divine art would have become the handmaiden of the rich].

Once, an interested member of the audience asked him, Khan Sahab how do you color and shade each musical note? Why did the way he combined and released notes seem preternaturally right to the listeners' aching senses? It did seem as though the listeners had an inborn premonition of the raga's (musical scales) *swaroop* or form, which the Khan *sahab*'s scintillating performance merely uncovered. Khan *sahab* replied:

> *Sach much jaanna chahate ho? Buzurg kahate the, riyaz aur muraqba hakikat mein tab hee hota hai jab uthne ke samay se lekar, sone ke waqt ke smay tak ek tar mein bandha ho tumhare zahani soch mein tab hee raga darshan dete hain.*
>
> [Do you really want to know? My ancestors have said that *riyaz* and meditation are synonymous, and the true kind of meditation happens, in truth, when, from the moment you arise out of bed and till the time you go to bed, the entire interval is filled with only one thought—only then do musical notes deign to come when you call upon them.][47]

The constant practice and internalization of all aspects starting from research, designing, and executing regular exhibits generates a certain methodology, which I referred to right at the start of the chapter, and contributes to the making of a study leader.

Toward the end I would again like to emphasize the persona of the study leader in her role of a public intellectual. Rupturing the idea of academics confined to institutional affiliations, the profession of walking exhibits provides both an opportunity and a space to grow as an independent scholar in the public space. The study leader has to meet the constant challenge to incorporate readings on cultural landscapes as they were and as they change in contemporary times. Her profession demands that she not only use scholarly works on the cultural landscapes in her narratives that can be interpreted as public lectures, but also insert her own understanding of the landscapes in the lectures whose modalities are to transform communication into visual journeys. There is no doubt that "India's rapid and substantial development has unfolded more intensely in particular areas such as urban geographies. Images and their narratives reflect these changes."[48] The changes with which the study leader has to keep up are not only limited to physical changes in the landscapes but also how new understandings of a culturalscape can create some contentions in relation to a monument or an entire site.

Take for example the 16th century tomb and mosque of Jamali Kamali in Delhi that we referred to in the first chapter, with reference to public spaces and private claims.

In that reference I had mentioned the issue of the "claiming" of the monument by the gay community, along with recent claims by the Muslim Waqf Board to restart prayers in the compound of a protected secular monument. It is this reference of the changing perception of communities in reference to heritage, which too needs to be addressed by the study leader.

> Images and their narratives reflect these changes, not only in their appearance but also their packaging, managing, method and pace of circulation … Just as the image viewed needs to be understood in terms of its journey, from where it is viewed also needs to be differentiated.[49]

The perception of such ongoing changes remain an important function for the presenter of walking exhibits in her role as a public academician. As the social and economic environment changes, the manner in which heritage is apprehended by people and communities to suit their various needs can indeed change. The public academician working in the public domain cannot ignore these changing perceptions. Taking the above example of Jamali Kamali, there is need for the study leader to be alert to the "public life" of heritage. In this reference I quote Tapati Guha Thakurta, as she analyzes and charts the history of the demolished 16th century Babri Masjid as well as the politicization of the Buddhist site of Bodh Gaya:

> Dead or living, demolished or refurbished, monuments [as also other aspects of heritage] seem destined to lead contentious public lives in contemporary India, always testing the limits of archaeological (as well as sociological) jurisdiction and historical meaning … what seems most dominantly at play now are the dynamics of mass faith a popular visual imagery … places can be seen always to escape the bounded spheres of scholarly and administrative authority and step into the more open, combustible domain of public memories and claims. Knowledges generated in the one sphere take on errant lives of their own in the latter, determining both fact and legend, mobilizing both history and belief … sites stand victims of what Pierre Nora has called the machinations and terror of modern-day historicized memories as they have commandeered the fate of the nation, its sacred sites, and its historical monuments.[50]

The role and development of a study leader engaged in curating and presenting walking exhibits on heritage is rather complex. The study leader is like a public folklorist about who Gimblett says: "The primary commitment of public folklorists is to the people whose culture they help present. Their work is marked by depth of research, theoretical sophistication and critical reflection."[51]

It illustrates a new domain of existence for scholars outside formal institutional walls and situates itself in the public arena. This new space can, if dexterously planned and executed, lead to both a high degree of the professionalization of public scholarship but also provide a self-generating means of livelihood. In this regard, this profession in the public space can be viewed as a part of the idea of cultural industries, which is discussed and analyzed in the next chapter.

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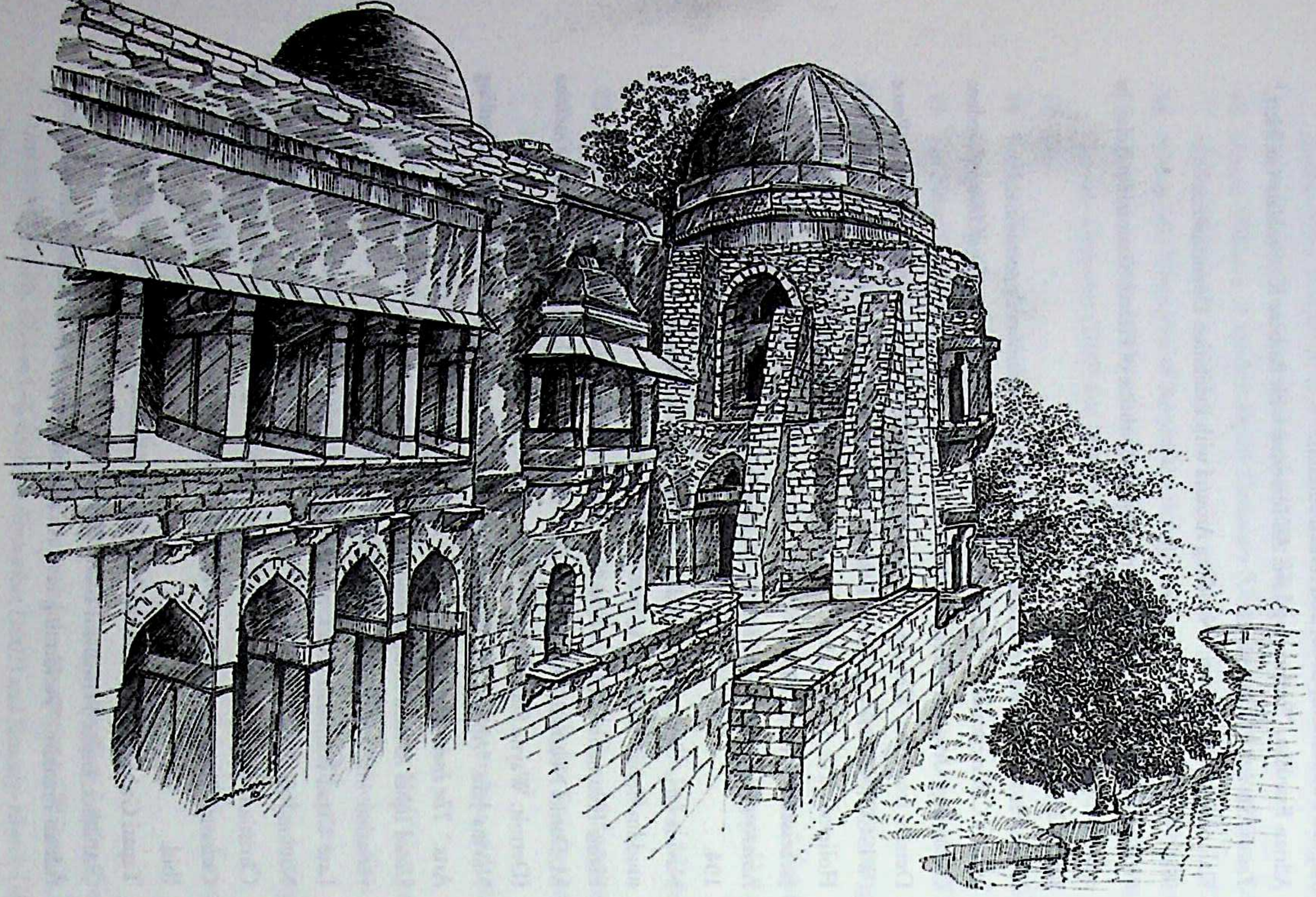

Madarsa of Firoz Shah Tughlaq Overlooking the Tank, Hauz Khas

CHAPTER IV

Walking Tours: Aspects of Economics and Culture

The art of professional academic heritage showcasing can emerge as a contributor to the economy. This creative yet academic initiative is existent within an economic environment and therefore is to be valued both for the tangible and intangible benefit it provides to society at large. With this recognition only will the academician as a cultural professional be respected and so will these activities and services be valued and legitimized. The academics working in the field of the professional exhibiting of heritage after all assist the wider understanding of cultural heritage. The study leader in her individual capacity functions to conserve and propagate the heritage as an imprint of man's achievements and the symbols of the social and creative values of a community.

In this chapter, the economic value of cultural capital and services associated with walking exhibits will be explored. The private entrepreneurship of the business of walking exhibits has to be balanced between preserving the authentic academic content on a culturalscape with a keen sense of efficiency, professionalism, and business sense. In

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relation to walking tours, especially in the context of cities, it can be said that the entire dynamic of the enterprise clearly suggests that creativity in exhibiting cultures can become an important economic driver of the future, especially when it is considered as an integrated element and an activity in a city's development. It is critical to understand that as part of the creative industry, the profession of exhibiting cultural heritage through walking exhibits has the ability to attract, nurture, and sustain both academic intellect and creative talent. It is an attractive platform for creative cultural professionals to withstand and ingeniously create their space in society as public academicians; it contributes to the development of sustainable creative and cultural services and assists in contributing to the maintenance and preservation of tangible and intangible heritage. It is a creative cultural industry on heritage and is related to tourism. "Such phenomena are prime sites for exploring the relationship between public culture and commercial culture, the not-for-profit and for-profit sectors, the culture and the consciousness industries."[1]

As framed in the context of this book, I take the example of this enterprise in Delhi as a case study, but I hope the analyses can be applied quite universally. As mentioned in the introduction, walking tours have become a popular genre in urban cities in India. In my view, it is very much a part of the new India that has in recent years emerged from a socialist to a capitalist economy. The walking tours are not only popular or marketed as activities offered by travel companies for foreigners but also have gained popularity in the urban context even among Indians. They are, as expressed in the earlier chapters, a new format of public culture and in that sense represent a consumer activity and a "modality of social life ... Consumption, conceived as the 'work of the imagination' is an activity that simultaneously captures the distinctive disciplines of modernity and draws attention to new forms of expenditure and social identity."[2] This popularity gained by the culture of walking exhibits and tours are part of a new energy that surrounds Indians.

> In recent years, many observers of the South Asian scene have noticed that Indians are engaged in forms of consumptions, recreation, and entertainment that resemble cosmopolitan cultural forms in other parts of the contemporary world. The growing national frenzy over sports such as cricket, the palpable growth in domestic tourism ... and the general commodification of cultural objects are all a part of this process, which has many other expressions.[3]

The walking exhibits on one level are a part of communication technology that extends the purely textual limits, transports images, site of interaction, and forms a sort of communication that contributes to the growth of the transformation of cultural production that manifests itself as a distinct cultural service and part of the cultural economy.

Presently in Delhi there are two broad categories of walking tours. There are those walks that are organized by organizations such as the Delhi Conservation Society, INTACH, the India Habitat Center, and the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. Most walks conducted by these organizations are either free or are heavily subsidized. Their purpose is to promote awareness of heritage among people and involve people in caring for and valuing their heritage. Viewed through the economic lens, this philanthropic exercise is possible only because these organizations have a sustainable economic model since they have either a corpus or a vibrant income generation facet, possibly in the form of grants in aid.

The second category of walking exhibits are initiated, designed, and executed by private individuals as a cultural enterprise. These walks are neither free nor subsidized. These initiatives are definitely a part of individual cultural enterprise.

In the first category, for example, there was Gaynor Barton who, encouraged by members of the Delhi Conservation Society, popularized heritage walks in Delhi about two decades ago. Her husband David Spiller who was an official at the British High Commission in Delhiand the writer Laurraine Malone accompanied Gaynor on tours of Old Delhi. Gaynor made copious notes on her tours and then, with the assistance of another British Indian citizen Nigel Hankin, who himself specialized in conducting tours on British India in Delhi, and urban historian Narayani Gupta, published a book titled *Old Delhi: 10 Easy Walks* along with coauthor Laurraine Malone, which became popular.

The recent trend to conduct heritage walks as a professional enterprise includes walks that have to be paid for and the client has therefore a choice to choose between the subsidized, low-cost, and higher costing walks. In this category of paid walks, it is entirely the decision of the organizer to decide for whom she wants to perform a walk on a subsidized or a free level and from whom she wants to charge a fee, which can vary in accordance with the profile of a client. As Breckenridge and Appadurai state in their essay: "Today in India, the control of cultural production is shared in a fragile and variable way between the state and private enterprise, depending on the kind of cultural product that is involved."[4] In relation to this book, I am going to explore private initiatives and will not indulge in any value judgment by comparing the two categories of walks since the main purpose is understanding and analyzing the economics of such activities.

Walking tours that are initiated as a private enterprise can be classified into three categories: The first category comprises those that are initiated, researched, designed, marketed, and executed by an individual. The second category comprises of those walks that are designed and executed on demand from various clients; and the third are those walks that may be running on a regular basis, conducted by an individual or an organization in association with another organization. In the last category, I cite the example of the walks conducted by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation in coordination with a private non-profit organization—Foundation for Conservation and Research of Urban Traditional Architecture (CRUTA)—and the local temple trust of the Swaminarayan Temple. The walks are conducted on a daily basis by a group of young volunteers. Since the government agency supports the initiative of the private non-profit organization, the walks are heavily subsidized. I will begin with the first category of self-initiated exhibits, which involves research, designing, marketing, and execution handled by an individual.

It would be appropriate to start with an analysis of the economics of exhibiting heritage as an initiative by a private individual or an organization that functions in a free market economy and therefore is a player who aims at professionalism and quality services driven by the objective of creating both profit and a brand name for herself or the organization with which she is associated.

In my view, the entire scheme appended with this activity is a system, which implies that the economy characterizing the heritage exhibits as walking tours is defined by inputs, operations, and outputs. Inputs include research on a culturalscape, collection of data, resourcing, training appropriate study leaders (those who work as both curators of the walk as well as presenters of the exhibit), preparing on-site helpers/coordinators, and including strategies to incorporate community participation. Inputs are defined and supported by several aspects of logistics. These include strategic planning and the actual delivery of the cultural productions (the walking exhibits); they accommodate activities such as charting routes, reconnaissance of the walking exhibit, logistical understanding of placing team members, planning when and how tradition bearers are to be involved, and an overview of the on-site management of participants.

Professionals engaged in the business of walking exhibits have to be sensitive to the sensibilities of a community and the understanding that such living exhibits can be successful, lasting, and economically viable when there is an organic continuity between all the players involved. Second, it is the human emotional component in relationships that enables the cultural production to be characterized with a special natural flow and not deteriorate into a mechanical, non-human exercise. Sometimes, as mentioned in the earlier chapters, a walk one has planned with community participation may not work as expected. The community representative may not find it comfortable to interact with the participants of the visiting group. It is at this point that the study leader must show her sensitivity to the community and the tradition she has included to exhibit. For example, I annually design walks and driving tours in Lucknow, the capital of the state of Uttar Pradesh. On one occasion, the exhibition on Lucknow comprised of three major exhibits, namely, the cultural heritage of nawabs (Muslim equivalent to Maharaja), colonial Lucknow, and contemporary Lucknow. The walking and driving exhibit on the nawabs of Lucknow included a visit to a variety of public and private *imambaras* (congregation halls for ritual ceremonies of Shia Muslims during the Islamic month of Muharram), a walk through the Old Lucknow Bazaar (*Chowk* and *Nakkhas*), and a visit to the house of an Old *nawab* living in his dilapidated *haveli* in what is known as Machhi Bhawan. The walk in the Chowk Bazaar incorporated interactions with all kinds of tradition carriers such as kebab makers and the makers of *chandi aur sone ka warq* (people engaged in the making of fine sheets of silver and gold leaf to decorate Indian sweets). These interactions also included one with a daughter of an erstwhile *tawaif* of Lucknow.[5] The young lady had an initial agreement with me that she will tell the participants about the *tawaif* culture in Lucknow. However, when the group reached her house, she took me aside and informed me that she was not comfortable talking about the *tawaif* culture in Lucknow because it was *izzat ki baat* (a question of her dignity). *Bibi, kaun hume izzat dega jab woh sarasar jan lenge ki hum us thukraye hooaye tahezeeb ke hisse hai?* [*Bibi* (an affectionate term of address) tell me who will respect me when they know that I belong to that discarded segment of society? A culture that remains completely disgraced in the eyes of the mainstream society?] I suggested that she introduce herself as a musician and speak about her ongoing research in music. The lady was grateful that she was not embarrassed and the interaction with her ended with her singing some soulful eulogies on the martyrdom of Imam and Hussein, the main protagonists of Muharram rituals.

While involving community participation, consideration must always be shown not only for the sentiments of the representatives of the tradition, but also efforts ought to be made to observe niceties in the manner in which they are rewarded or compensated. The compensation could be in the form of cash, through purchase of goods produced by the tradition bearer, or even by donation to an institution associated with the tradition representative.

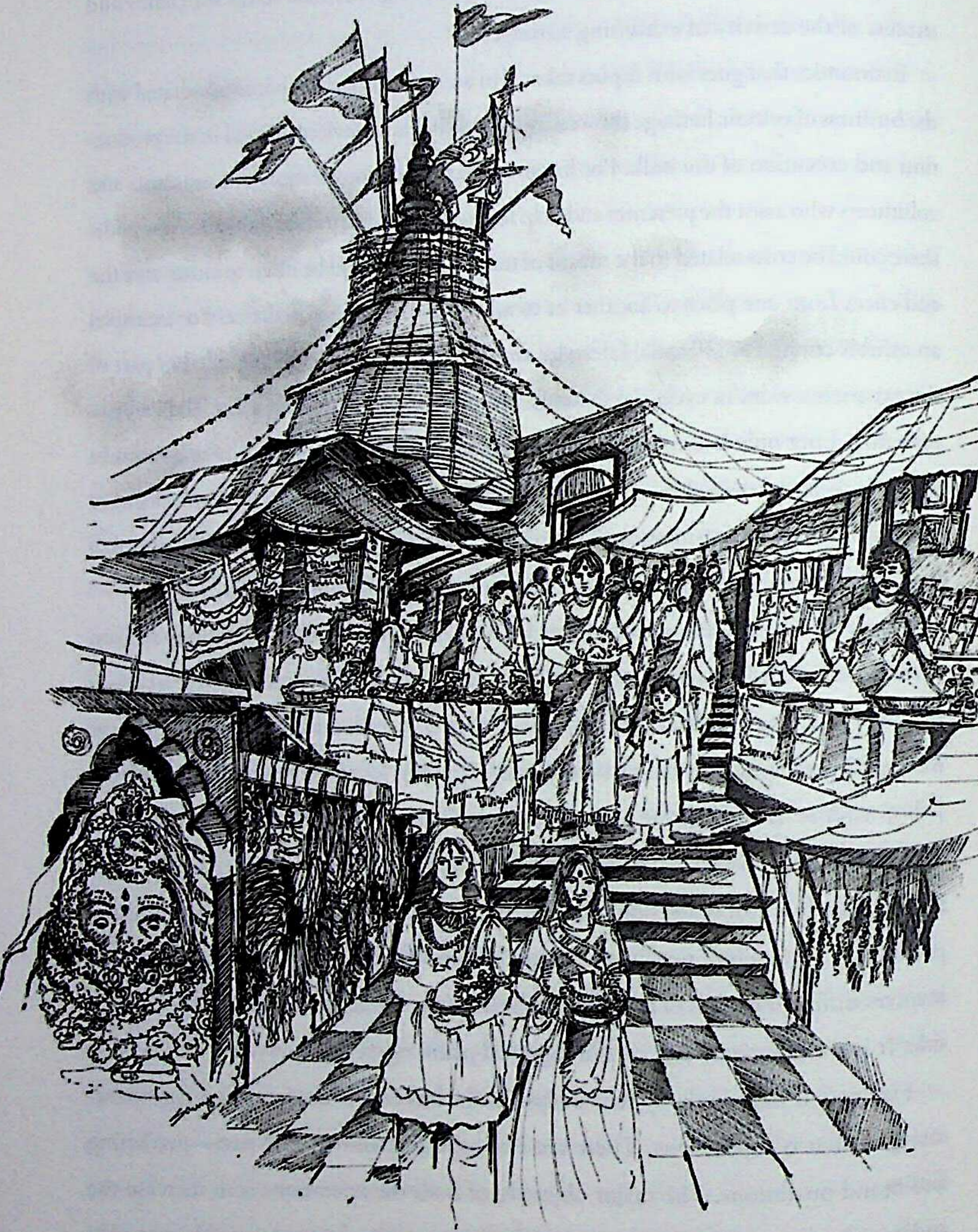
Strategic logistical planning is therefore a significant input in the planning and production of eclectic academic-oriented showcasing. To elaborate on this, I wish to describe the functionality of one aspect of logistical planning, which is the reconnaissance on the exhibit: It is an exercise to comprehend the reality of taking a tour along a charted route with an audience; it enables the presenter to discern the time required to cover the selected route of the exhibit with a particular size of a group. These components vary depending on the size of the group, the time of day, or the route chosen in a particular culturalscape. Larger numbers of people demand elaborate preparation in comparison to smaller groups; similarly, the early morning time may be better to access a particular monument or a shrine situated in the midst of a bazaar or a crowded part of the city. During the reconnaissance, details need to be worked out for including community participation or tradition bearers. Quite often, their participation and cooperation is based on a fee. At times, the planning involves special permissions to access parts of a culturalscape; some rules may have to be followed or formalities have to be complied with. For instance, the admittance to a particular *haveli* may require permission from the owners of the house.

Thus, several complex logistics come into play that are associated with the actual presentation of the exhibit. Quite often there maybe government agencies from whom permission to visit certain parts of a heritage landscape is required. For instance, recently, a freelance academic engaged in heritage showcasing was requested to accompany Anand Satyanand, the present Governor General of New Zealand, on a guided tour of the Red Fort, the fort/palace of the Mughals in New Delhi. As the presenter, I advised the client, in this case the New Zealand High Commission in New Delhi, to request the Archeological Survey of India who is in charge of the monument to grant permission to allow access to some parts of the Red Fort that are usually out of bounds for ordinary visitors. All in all, initial initiatives at the input stage require strategic planning and involve schematic cognizance of time, money and other resources, and the best use of those resources. Logistical planning is critical to the efficiency and success of the activity of exhibiting heritage.

Economics that goes with inputs takes into account tertiary activities associated with the business of eclectic heritage showcasing. These include services utilized in the production and execution of the walk. For instance, there are remunerations for assistants and volunteers who assist the presenter and help her in the coordination of the walk. Alongside, there could be costs related to the means of transport that could be hired to either take the audiences from one place to another or to add to the heritage experience. For example, an exhibit curated as "Rituals, Lifestyles and Bazaars of Old Delhi" included as part of the experience rides in cycle rickshaws for 30 participants attending a conference. As a presenter, I not only had to line up rickshaws but also to come to a business agreement with the cycle rickshaw drivers, which included that they will wear a uniform, organize clean, sturdy rickshaws, and so on. Thus, the tertiary services add to the cost of the cultural production of the heritage showcasing and have to be taken into account.

The total income generation for a private organizer varies. The income depends on the number of walks staged by an individual or a professional company over a certain period of time, the number of participants in a series of walks, minus the overhead costs inherent in each walk like the salaries of "the many employees in the cultural industries [who] work at what might be termed as 'non-cultural' jobs: accountants, technicians, administrators and so on."[6] The costs include both the obvious and some integral invisible costs such as cost of telephones, faxes, electricity, and coordination. Planning and production is therefore not merely about "an" individual, it is about teamwork that involves different groups of people or individuals on the administrative and executive side. It is about services and careful logistical planning of those services.

The second stage in the system analysis of the business of academic heritage showcasing is that of operations. There are two aspects major to this part—marketing and brand operations. The major objective of both the operations is to increase the audience base and to gain in reputation. Both these objectives are served by not only strategizing the marketing and branding but also projecting innovations in the cultural productions that stand out as distinct efforts of exhibiting heritage through the format of academic walking exhibits. This aspect, in marketing jargon, is commonly referred to as product differentiation in comparison to similar productions done by other individuals or organizations. How different and efficient can one make the



Kalka Devi Temple, Kalkaji

cultural production in its design, presentation, and execution? Hence, it is innovation in cultural production that makes the "product" and the person behind the production unique and therefore provides a chance to enhance its market.

As far as the marketing of the "product" is concerned, one has to first and foremost understand the target audiences for various kinds of narrative-based walking exhibits. This exercise compels the producers of heritage exhibits to be innovative and to repackage heritage experiences in a manner that will attract audiences and, in the process, increase the "users" of academic heritage experiences and profits on the whole. Creative productions on heritage help in strategizing the plan to increase the market base. As in the case of several organizations who are executing subsidized heritage walks and whose aim is primarily conservation, the strategy to reach target audience is largely through advertising in their own newsletter, on the web, and cultural magazines' calendars in the column on events in the city. The gradual awareness of the walks creates markets. On the other hand, when it comes to initiatives by a private individual or an organization whose objective is not only to create an awareness of heritage, but also to extend it as a mode for cultural representation, cultural diplomacy, and develop the activity as a means to generate profit. In the latter case, the marketing strategy needs to be indeed more aggressive, personalized, and persistent.

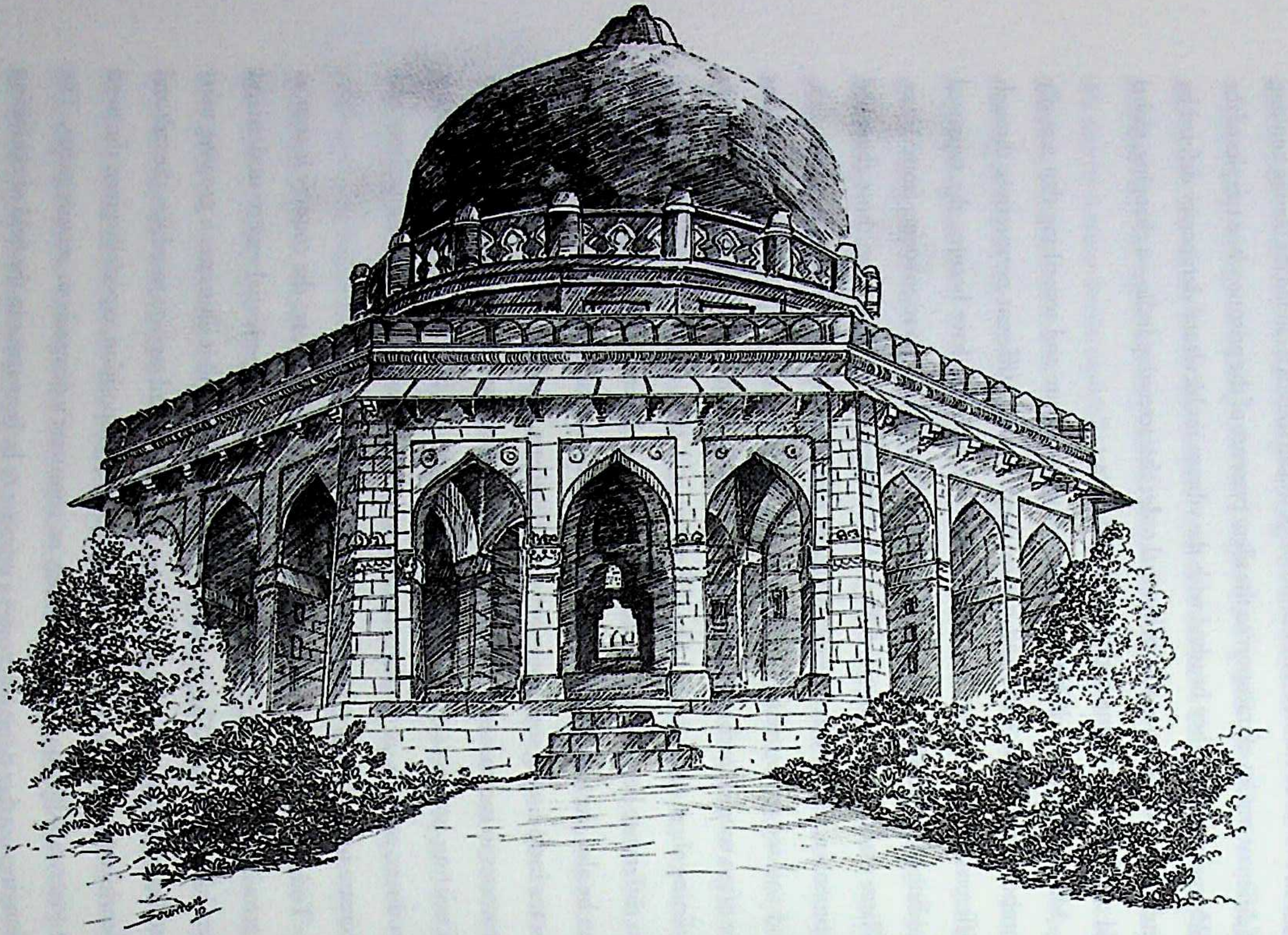
For instance, the cost of marketing a self-initiated walk by an individual is not limited to selling the walk as an exclusive activity through emails and personal faxes only but also extends to placing advertisements in weekly magazines such as *Delhi Diary*. Not only is marketing a constant continued activity in such cases but also, information on the presenter and the organization needs to be reiterated in the minds of the "users." Marketing strategies include efforts such as those to design walks that may be suitable for a certain time of the year and will therefore hold the interest of people, for example, planning a special walk with the theme of festivals. In this category, I planned a walk on Ramadan in Old Delhi, a walk on Durga Puja at Kalka Temple, a walk on the rituals of Shias during the month of Muharram, and so on. Second, since the objective is to "sell" the exhibit, the narrative text or the wording of the advertisements of exhibits need to be catchy, well drafted, and attractively presented. For example, I titled the walking exhibit on Muharram as "Madarsas and Imambaras—Culture of Shia Muslims in Delhi."[7, 8] Another example was a special walk on the theme of the Monsoons titled: "Monsoon Retreats of the Mughals and Early British." Such kinds of presentations communicate the innovation that is communicated in reading various culturalscapes through various perspectives. Hence, a person who may have visited the particular cultural landscape before might be attracted to register for the walk in order to experience the heritage through a different lens.

Exhibiting heritage as walking exhibits, I argue it is a specific specialized profession and an art. As analyzed in the first chapter, it aims to conserve heritage by making the presentation of heritage interesting and relevant to contemporary people. Unfortunately, this activity is rather recent, especially in India, and therefore at most times and on most occasions it is perceived as mere cultural tourism. As a result, marketing is not only about creating awareness respecting this new category of cultural production but also about constructing narratives to communicate these efforts as an educational experience to diverse categories of potential audiences. It is important that awareness is created about this activity as a means of *applied heritage*. Marketing indeed involves personal involvement. It implies doing personal presentations and shaping the presentations to suit the needs of prospective clients, that is, presentations are structured in a manner that suits the objectives and mindsets of the target audience who may be individuals or organizations. For instance, an American Pharmaceutical Firm wanted to engage my services to showcase heritage to their investors with the dual objective of presenting India as a worthy destination for investment and making the stakeholders understand the complexities and the difficulties in functioning in an amazing yet exasperating country like India. I suggested to them that a driving tour to Agra from Delhi would serve as an educational experience to understand and comprehend the real, living India, which they otherwise (the target audiences) will not encounter since most of their time would be spent in the conference they had come to attend or in their five star hotel where they were staying. My presentation to the American firm was successful and so was the execution of the driving tour from Delhi to Agra. The stakeholders of the pharmaceutical firm were forced to leave their antiseptic environment and drive through dusty roads populated simultaneously by plush cars and bullock carts. Their involvement with medicines had them watching out for public health posters that informed people about malaria, HIV/AIDS, family planning, and so on. They saw the contradiction of what India was about from the past luxurious legacy of Mughals encased in the display of the Taj Mahal and luxury hotels of contemporary times to the evident poverty in the surrounding areas of the Taj; from bullock carts and elephants to a common man on the street using savvy mobile phones and accessing internet cafes, they witnessed a plethora of differences. They encountered the sound of calls of prayers from various mosques on the way, through loudspeakers alongside; they could hear the chanting of Hindu religious songs amidst colorful chaotic festivals in Hindu shrines. The exhibition of Indian sounds included the blaring honking of different modes of transport to the silent presence of the pristine white temples of the Sikh community. They brushed with the vibrant multicultural democracy defined by external chaos and some sort of internal order characterizing India—a changing, global old country but a young nation of 60 odd years.

Marketing can itself become an innovative venture and something that actually compels presenters to see and present heritage with different perspectives through different marketing models. Creativity and innovation have become the supposed guiding principles of 21st century business. Where do innovations come from? Ideas. Where do ideas come from? Often ideas come from insights, from those cherished moments of clarity when new experiences, challenges, observations, or questions click, and you say to yourself: "Oh, I get it! Eureka! What if we ...?" Although the terms are often used interchangeably, insights, ideas, and innovations are different. Clearly defining them helps explain the differences and, thus, works more effectively. There is a difference between innovation and invention. Invention is a new idea; innovation can be also the entrepreneurial application and successful use of the idea. Innovation means introducing something new in the business. It could imply improving business processes to increase efficiency or to enable the business to extend the range or quality of existing products or services. The newness in the business adds value to existing products, services, or markets to differentiate the business from its competitors and increase its perceived value for customers and markets.

Today, India is changing rapidly and in the 21st century, the country is seen as a growing power. Understanding heritage can be an experiential way to understand the "idea of India." The popularity of the walking exhibit illustrates a growing need and hence developing new and improved products and services to exhibit the cultural identity of India can be a challenging business proposition, especially given the need to meet rapidly changing customers or consumer's demands or requirements. The changing market demand creates a pressure to be innovative in the field of exhibiting heritage by way of academic walking exhibits.

Recently there has been an attempt by me to create heritage walks as educational activities on Delhi exclusively for Japanese clients. The marketing involved developing



Tomb of Mohammed Shah, Lodi Gardens

marketing material in Japanese, which changed in accordance to the needs of the prospective target audiences. Language for web presentation, brochures, and leaflets on the heritage exhibits used varied narratives for different target audiences. These comprised of corporate executives working in India in firms such as Mitsubishi, Sony, Hitachi, or teachers or students from universities, Japanese children in India, or even Japanese women's associations.

Yet another example of the innovations to enhance the effects of marketing was the introduction of specialized walks for primary and secondary schools in Delhi. The initiative required product differentiation to attract both children of different age groups and school educators to take an interest in these special services. A series of heritage walks were innovatively developed on various themes and marketed by my private company on different subjects, such as promoting peace, enhancing the experiential learning of history, and creating environment awareness among schoolchildren. The main selling point was to create walks with mainstream curriculum in mind, and to create walks to introduce heritage education as an entry point to various professions. For example, a walk along the river Yamuna meant an introduction to concepts related to water pollution taught to children in their lesson in Geography, or a walk in the 18th century observatory Jantar Mantar in New Delhi becomes the starting point to introduce children to the idea of space studies and the future in the area. The special features of these walks included narratives that were available both in Hindi and in English, the level of language used in the narratives was such that they could be easily followed by children, and particular attention was given to incorporate incidents that would interest children. These walks were made into PowerPoint presentations that highlighted these special features and were marketed in various schools. While doing presentations in schools, the marketing strategy created spaces for school authorities to interact with my team.

Yet another innovation in the academic experiences was the creation of special heritage experiences for corporate clients that wove in the experience of different kinds of heritage—tangible and intangible. Walks were presented in tandem with thematic dinners or followed by related performances. These exercises attracted corporates to incorporate these heritage experiences as special features for their visiting delegations and conferences. One such attempt was a walk in the Lodi Gardens (Lodis who were from Afghanistan ruled Delhi between mid-15th century and mid-16th century); the walk was titled "Afghanistan—Gateway to India." The walk was followed by a dinner of Afghan cuisine influenced by Indian cooking. The event was created for a delegation of a corporation that had interests in building roads in Afghanistan and in India. Such thematic talks therefore suggest an expansion of business and enlarging the audience base by initiating variations in building a variety of product differentiations. A span of a variety of heritage experiences increases the chance for expanding consumers in using these specialized and unique academic-oriented "products" and "services."

However, the big challenge for the people behind such cultural productions is to keep the business thriving through innovation without compromising on academic quality and cultural authenticity. Innovation is possible only with in-depth knowledge of culturalscapes and constant interaction with the social and economic landscape. On one instance, for an economic delegation in the category of an on-demand client walk, an exhibit titled "Rising India: Bazaars of Old Delhi" was repackaged as "Business Cuisine of Old Delhi." The audience saw different aspects of the same landscape in both the walks and though some participants were common to the two walks, they found the experience very different and exhilarating.

An important aspect of innovation in the business of academic heritage showcasing is the process of introducing follow-up programs. In this reference, I go back to the second chapter where I referred briefly to the indigenous living festival exhibit "Apna Utsav." I had mentioned that the festival organized in 1986 resulted in a major follow-up program manifested in the setting up of the zonal cultural centers. While the "Apna Utsav" celebrated the rich cultural heritage of India, especially the vast ocean of the intangible heritage of traditional skills evidently represented in the crafts and performing arts, the festival had innovatively used several monument sites to exhibit the intangible heritage of India. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the setting up of the zonal centers in 1987 represented a remarkable outcome of a follow-up program. As stated in the previous chapter, the vision of this follow-up program was that of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi:

> ... the whole movement for culture and creative industries [began] even before the World Bank. According to Rajiv Gandhi, cultural wealth has nothing to do with states but with zones and a state can belong to more than one zone. All festivals and strategies would be staged in high density areas. Zonal centers were envisioned to transcend tangible and intangible culture. The zonal cultural centers were a part of a

> dissemination program in order to bolster the creative industries. The plan of the zonal cultural center may have shown a new way had they not been heavily bureaucratized and marginalized by successive governments. In conception, they permeated political state boundaries with a multi-dimensional agenda to create new platforms for documenting, administering and disseminating a wide array of cultural activities—from food to regional sports, poetry to clothing, crafts to music, and healing arts to habitat.[9]

In the context of the walks, I will take the example of a walk titled "Lifestyles and Neighborhoods of Elites in Old Delhi" mentioned earlier in the book. The production of this walk required research on the characteristics and styles of domestic architecture, interviews with tradition bearers whose identity and professions were associated with luxury, and elitist living of the 19th century and 20th century. The research led to the production of another innovative activity, which was added to enhance the experience of the curated walk. This event was called "The Dining Opera." The strategic planning and execution of the production involved hiring a *haveli*. The *haveli* was not in use for a long time and was locked up. The owners were traced and discussions were held to facilitate the opening and use of the *haveli*. With the assistance of the caretaker of the *haveli*, *it* was cleaned and provisions were made with a tent house to set up seating arrangements and crockery. The services of cleaners, waiters, and escorts were hired. The event integrated recreating performances of various people, such as the *bahurupiyas*, *hakims*, and *dastangos*, which meant coordinating with the tradition bearers, communicating what kind of performance was required of them, and organizing rehearsals. Besides, special arrangements were made to serve the authentic food of Delhi with a traditional caterer who was made to coordinate with the management of the tent house. The analyses of follow-up programs feed into other aspects of the enterprise of showcasing heritage that will be explored later in the chapter.

The strategy to expand the audience base calls for addressing issues of diversity across programs, audience, and operational models. For instance, if a presentation on "Tantric Art" is requested by an agency, it would mean advance coordination with the person in charge of the "Tantric Art" collection at the National Museum in Delhi. The services could provide for an interaction with a practicing *tantric* in one of the local temples and then an art historian could invite the audience and present a slide lecture on the influence of *tantric* thought in the iconography in Hindu temples.

The total cultural exhibit could be for two hours. All these arrangements need to be facilitated by prior information regarding the number of guests, their endurance and interest levels, and of course the fees that they would be willing to pay. Because of all these factors associated with curating, living exhibits on demand is a much more viable option. Yet, the on-demand walks can grow only when the private person or organization grows in reputation or as a brand.

Necessary for the success of the venture in the strategizing of marketing is adopting ways and means to build a systematic brand. Exhibiting heritage through heritage walking tours in this book is portrayed not only as an art but as a unique academic space for a cultural professional to educate people about the cultural heritage of a country, region, people, or nation. This service is and can be unique and therefore, within the context of business studies, portrays a distinctiveness that sets it apart from the common definition of cultural tourism. Its unique character, as debated in this book, makes the service a brand that differentiates itself from competing services engaged in cultural tourism.

Consequently, the strategy of brand management of this kind of a service involves a way of strategizing the path of reputation which catches the attention of as many audiences as possible so as to create an energized and wide market for it. In common traditional business parlance, this would involve aggressive advertising, retailing, and all other activities that enhance the potential of making this service known. The brand management of activity has to be an intentional action. In typical understanding, brand management in business aims to create a brand by intentional action. Deliberate decisions are made about brand personality, brand values, brand positioning, brand logos, etc. Attention is paid to customers and competitors, where attention to design information about the service is smartly shaped in accordance with the mindset of various target audiences so as to catch their attention to actually use the services. In other words, the projection to capture the mind of prospective audiences is complex since their inner maps are a gross simplification of a massively complex outer reality.

Gaining reputation is an important element toward building a brand. The plan to develop a reputation depends on several factors such as the honesty, efficiency, and sincerity with which the exhibits are curated and executed. It also relies on the manner in which the presenter develops a rapport with the audiences. The presenter, by virtue of her position, is in direct contact with the audiences, she is somebody who interacts with them and understands their inner map—their needs and responses to the exhibit. The feedback from the presenter assists the organization in making changes and introducing developments that will enhance the reputation of the services of this engagement.

The path to create that reputation depends, to a large extent, on the impression the presenter leaves in the mind of the audiences. It is through her that trust is built between the audiences and the service providers, which may be her as an individual or an organization with which she is associated. It is up to the perception of the presenter to pick up signals of what the audiences expect from the experience of the heritage exhibit. To cite an example, I will refer to and describe a walk that was conducted by me on September 13, 2008, in New Delhi, on the day the city experienced serial bombings. This exhibit was especially designed to highlight the ritualistic observations in the month of Ramzan (also called Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting). The walk commenced in Jama Masjid, the largest mosque in India, where hundreds of people with their families gather at sunset during the holy month of Ramadan to break their fast and observe *iftar*, the light evening meal permitted in the discipline and rituals of fasting during this month. I started the walk by briefly describing the history of the mosque and went straight on to describing the implications, rituals, and symbolism of Ramadan. In my narrative for instance, I described the origins of the word Ramadan that came from the word Ramadi, which meant scorching heat. It was a month of doing good deeds for humanity, spending time with family and friends, and observing social harmony. The month was to be spent on charity, in reading the Koran, kindness, mercy, but most of all, self-restraint. As the introduction by the presenter ended, the air filled with a loud sound of a cracker marking the time to break the fast. The muezzin sang the prayers and people in the mosque proceeded to open their picnic baskets and began eating together. Soon after, the presenter quietly requested the group to move out of the mosque. Requesting the audience to walk in single file, I led them to view other heritage points selected as part of the walking exhibit. Just then, my mobile phone reflected a message informing me of the series of bombings taking place in the city. The main purpose of the walk was the experience of celebration of social harmony and self-restraint observed during the Ramzan month; the aim was to showcase the intangible heritage of the area around the Jama Masjid that illustrated joy and peace. However, the purpose fell straight on its face as news came in that the Indian Mujahideen (an Indian-Muslim terrorist group) had claimed responsibility for the bombings. As a presenter, I calmly continued the walk, but later, taking the audience into one quiet, peaceful Sufi monastery, informed the group of the terrible happenings in the city. Later, I confessed to the audience that as the main presenter and organizer, it was my duty to instill a sense of calm and security. The participants were guided from the main bazaar into the interiors of Muslim neighborhoods. One by one I covered various "stops" that were a part of the exhibit. Finally, I rounded off the walk in a hidden enclosure where lay the grave of the 13th century Muslim Queen and ruler Razia Sultan. The Delhi Metro service was out for almost two hours and mobiles were also blocked. After about one hour, I told the audience that those who wanted to leave could leave since the initial panic would have settled a bit. Most participants were convinced and did not leave. They enjoyed the walk, which ended with a wonderful Mughal dinner at Karim's, a well-known restaurant in the neighborhood of the big mosque. During the dinner, I spoke and conversed with the audience. Their experience was not yet over.

With the unrest in the city, the objective of the walk, which was focused on social harmony and self-restraint, had changed. With the overwhelming, growing feeling of Muslims as terrorists, my objective as a presenter was to be able to show the manner in which the majority of Muslims coexisted peacefully with other communities; in fact, they were greater victims than other communities since they abhorred violence, which some of their community brethren exemplified, but were perceived as part of the violent group by other communites. As we were eating in the restaurant, the owner Zairuddin came to greet us at our table. He stood and listened to my talk and then went onto make the following remarks that contributed to what I was saying.

> Islam is a path of peace and this was in contrast to the deeds of a few handfuls of *atheist fundamentalists* who simultaneously exploited, politicized, and tarnished the

> Islamic identity by creating suffering, pain, and disharmony in the holy month of Ramadan among civic community.[10]

He reiterated my point when he remarked that:

> The Muslims in fact suffered twice as much. Since the bomb attacks were in a public space, there was no differentiation of which religion or caste the victims were, they could be Muslims or non-Muslims, rich or poor, men or women. In addition, the aftereffects of such evil acts included the attitude of alienation and stigmatization that Muslims suffered as all of us are perceived as terrorists.[11]

In the following week, I again advertised another notice to attend a repeat walk and register by email. Surprisingly there were about 40 people who came. Some participants were those who were keen on repeating the walk. As the walk ended, I asked the group of participants what had made them attend the walk despite the growing threat of terrorism in the city, and one person said that he'd heard about the manner in I had conducted the walk despite the bombings two weeks ago, and his friends had felt that they were actually safe with me.

Perception is not reputation but reputation is gained with perception, which feeds into the development of a brand. When the services of these exhibits become a first-hand experience, the brand is tested and transmits what it can actually deliver. The audiences in turn also perceive the brand and the reputation progresses, which in turn has a multiplying effect on the numbers of the audiences of the exhibits. Much of the success of this enterprise—that is, walks organized on demand—is due to the quality of service provided in the self-initiated walks. Word-of-mouth publicity and appreciation of the tour leads to the growth of audience participation, which in turn results in an increase in the demand for the walks. There is therefore a link between the growth of reputation and the overall expansion of the enterprise. Gradually, the concept of thematic and academic walks is catching on and leading to an increase in the business and legitimization of the profession of a public cultural academician engaged in the educational business of heritage showcasing.

Earlier, I had discussed the concept of follow-up programs with reference to innovations. I continue to explore the idea of follow-up programs as part of not only serving to expand the enterprise but also to serve the benefit of the knowledge bank on a particular exhibit to the use of many more people. The follow-up program in many ways reflects the earlier discussed issue of expanding the aesthetic use of research material for further productions. Utilizing the varied opportunities afforded by the availability of research material and skills of cultural professionals can go beyond merely curating simple walking exhibits. Various kinds of productions created out of the research material on culturalscapes contribute to the core activity of exhibiting culture within the mainstream economy.

In the process of the research and execution of the exhibits, there is a constant increase in the knowledge bank of an institution or an individual. This knowledge bank becomes the cultural capital for the organization, which can feed it to create several other kinds of exhibits. In this context, it is necessary to understand the business potential of designing and conducting cultural and academic tours, and the economics of the central activity of the discussion, namely, the walking exhibits.

As an example of the expansion of the knowledge bank to produce cultural productions, I proceed to analyze the work done at the Smithsonian Center for Folk Life and Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington DC. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the center is involved in the planning and production of its annual exhibit titled the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Preparation for the annual event that features different exhibits every year starts much in advance. Elaborate research, collection of relevant data, and extensive documentation takes place before the actual exhibit is put up. Following the display and execution of the exhibit, which in itself is rather elaborate and complex, the curators are encouraged to draw up a follow-up program with the help of other members in the institute. An entire portfolio is devoted for community and school educators on selected exhibits and themes. For instance, a resource guide for teachers of grades 9–12 was developed by the public intellectuals who formed a part of the team at the center on the exhibit titled "Land and Native American Cultures."[12] This kit introduces students to the use of land in Native American communities through case studies of indigenous North American Indian communities: The Hopis of Arizona; the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian of Alaska; and the Aymara and Quechua of Bolivia and Peru. Units of the educational kit address issues of subsistence, crafts, mythology, and rituals associated with these communities.

The kit includes an extensive teacher—student guide with narrative, photographs, resource listing, and activity questions. A slide set accompanies the guide.

This guide document, which speaks of family folklore and community traditions, addresses a growing need, what with rapid development affecting the environment and forcing communities to change their lifestyles. A parallel case in point in India would be the development of an exhibit on the construction of huge dams, which are displacing a large number of communities, destroying their habitat, and as a result, destroying an entire culture indigenous to that environment. For the coming generations who will live (and survive) in a new environment, the legacy of the original culture of their community gradually becomes a fading memory. Only a cultural professional involved in deep research, the business of cultural representation, and cultural display would be adequately equipped to document all this.

The Smithsonian guide is titled *Legacies: Documenting Family Folklore and Community Traditions*. It describes the objectives of the exercise in the following words: "We hope that the Smithsonian Folklife and Oral History Interviewing Guide inspire you to turn to members of your own family and community as key sources of history, culture, and tradition ..."[13] The booklet presents some guidelines that Smithsonian folklorists have developed over the years for collecting folklife and oral history from family and community members. It features a general guide to conducting an interview as well as a sample list of questions that may be adapted to your own needs and circumstances. The booklet concludes with a few examples of ways to preserve and present findings, a selection of further readings, a glossary of key terms, and sample information and release forms. In every community—in families, neighborhoods, workplaces, and schools—there are people who have knowledge and skills to share—ways of knowing and doing that often come from years of experience and have been preserved and passed down across generations. As active participants in community life, these bearers of tradition are primary sources of culture and history. They are, as folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes: "Living links in the historical chain, eye witnesses to history, and shapers of a vital and indigenous way of life. They are unparalleled in the vividness and authenticity they can bring to the study of local history and culture."[14] Further, according to *The Smithsonian Folklife and Oral History Interviewing Guide*,

> Through documenting their memories and stories, the past comes to life in the present, filled with vivid images of people, places, and events. And it is not only the past that we discover; we learn about the living traditions—the foodways, celebrations, customs, music, occupations, and skills—that are a vital part of daily experience. These stories, memories, and traditions are powerful expressions of community life and values. They anchor us in a larger whole, connecting us to the past, grounding us firmly in the present, giving us a sense of identity and roots, belonging and purpose.[15]

All the information on the guide is available on the center's web site and the proceeds from the sale of the guide become a source of income generation for the cultural organization.

The main purpose of describing the above efforts was to illustrate the internal dynamics of what and how much can be produced by the research and archival material on exhibits related to culturalscapes. The above description also conveys the importance of follow-up programs on a culturalscape and how they are important as a means of disseminating information about a culturalscape to a larger category of people, in addition to serving to expand the business of heritage showcasing without comprising on the standards of knowledge.

One of the attractions of this profession is that it empowers one to disseminate an understanding of cultural heritage to a large section of the society. This is a direct result of follow-up programs of different curated walking exhibits. The products of dissemination developed from the knowledge bank on culturalscapes could manifest themselves in products such as articles, books, and films, or activities such as writing and publishing, documenting in the form of photographs or film, creating blogs and contributing to the electronic space of knowledge, and the creation of education kits, travel exhibits, and so on. Cashing in on the research knowledge bank of professionals in the cultural entrepreneurial arena can also result in extending cultural services to workshops and lectures on cultural heritage, but most of all, in the creation of a vibrant experience that contributes to growing the scope of cultural tourism and the creation of spaces for cultural professionals to act as public academicians.

"The word industry carries with it a sense of economic potential [of cultural production] to generate output, employment and revenue."[16] David Throsby used this definition of industry in the context of cultural production, thereby asserting that professional cultural activity is an integral part of the cultural industry. To most people, the word industry signifies a commercial venture and therefore something that is primarily an artistic, academic, and cerebral activity that is necessarily outside the pale of commerce. As such, the exhibiting of culture through the designing and executing of walking tours, if associated with economics, would lower the esteem of the intangible creative impulse, they would say.

It is important to understand that cultural creative activities are contributors to the economy, that they are within an economic environment and are to be valued both for the tangible and intangible benefits they provide to society at large. It is only with that recognition that the arts will be respected and so will the cultural professionals who produce the arts and other services, who conserve and propagate them as imprints of man's achievements and symbols of the social and creative values of a community. As a specific cultural service, walking tours form a part of the cultural industry and are defined by their creative and symbolic character as stated in the previous chapters.

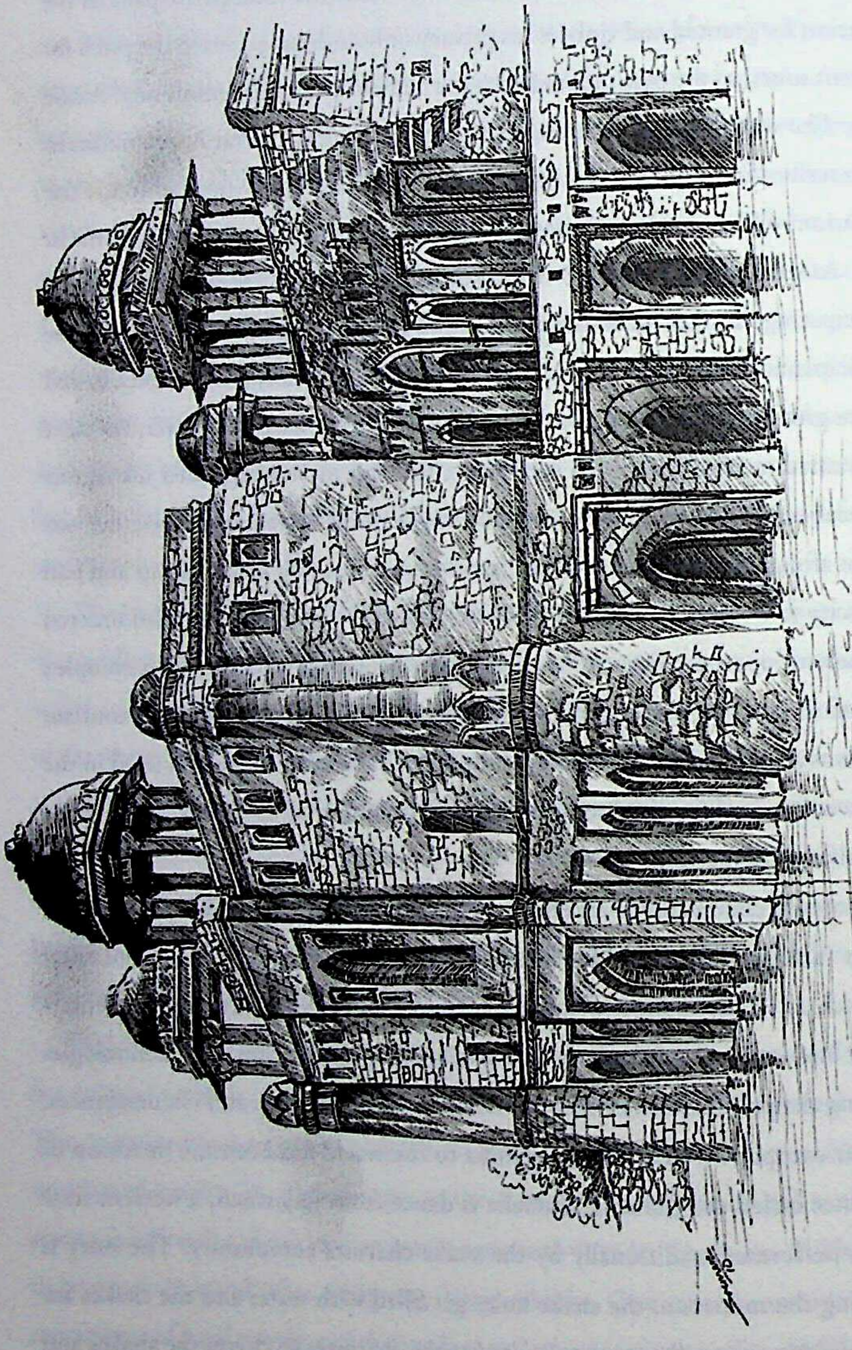
Walking exhibits as a core activity of the business of academic exercise to exhibit heritage can be seen as part of the model of cultural industry. As a business activity, it has the potential of extending its boundaries to include and attach itself to several other economic sectors, some of which operate outside the cultural sphere but whose products have cultural content, such as tourism. Tourism, as an extended sector of the cultural industry, is defined by some market segments that are built on a cultural base. The business of heritage showcasing, exhibiting cultures, or creating cultural displays feeds into the industry of tourism and forms a part of the cultural tourism industry.

Eclectic walking tours form a service within "cultural tourism," which, as Appadurai writes elsewhere, is described as generally focusing on "traditional communities who have diverse customs, unique forms of art and distinct social practices, which basically distinguishes it from other types of culture. Tourism is centered on the fundamental principles of exchange between peoples and is both an expression and experience of culture."[17] The activity of presenting eclectic walking exhibits as cultural displays as part of cultural tourism is framed within cultural contexts. Not only does it aim to promote the representation of cultures and a better understanding of cultural mores and culturalscapes among people, it also reinvents and relocates academic work in public and economic spaces. Considering the economics of walking tours as part of cultural tourism and therefore a service of a cultural industry, it engenders, on some or the other level, a livelihood for a range of people. As we have seen, listening to Sufi music in Mehrauli meant payment to the Sufi singers; a visit to the Jama Masjid in Old Delhi, which otherwise does not have a "monument fee," results in payment to the person who takes care of shoes or the man who sells small souvenirs outside the mosque. Even walks such as the one titled "Bazaars of Old Delhi" inevitably mean an economic gain for someone or the other as participants stop to buy spices, gift bags, and small delicacies to taste. These experiences are purposive visits to specific culturalscapes as part of cultural tourism and as such are an income generating exercise not only for those who design and execute the tour but also for those who sell products along the routes of the exhibit and for other associated service providers.

Therefore, the revenue impact of the cultural activity of exhibiting heritage through the medium of walking exhibits impacts the local economy by way of business provided to locals by the participants in the walks. The growing audience base for the walks, their capacity to spend on the walks for additional goods, and services along the route are all an indicator of rising consumer incomes and the shift of interest toward cultural and leisure-time activities. The spending also contributes to other affiliated sectors, such as transport and the restaurant business. The frequent stops to sample local street food becomes, incidentally, "a tour of tastes" and swells the kitty of the eateries of the area, in this case Chandni Chowk.

While it is true that tourism provides economic stimulus and financial support for cultural activities, it is equally true that it can have an adverse cultural impact. The negative impacts could range from the physical pressures imposed by large number of tourists in culturalscapes to the damage that may be caused to the local community's cultural values if an area is constantly invaded by visitors.[18] This needs to be borne in mind when designing living exhibits. One must be sensitive to the sentiments of local people and their values and when creating walking exhibits, one has to adopt a non-intrusive attitude toward local communities in their culturalscapes. It is imperative to ensure that neither the people nor the sites are in any way debased. An insensitive or brash tour leader who takes the local participant in the presentation for granted and violates his privacy only ends up queering the pitch for subsequent tours, to the detriment of both the audience and the community. A case in point: The walk I designed through the Sufi complex of Hazrat Nizamuddin in Delhi, described in the previous chapter, involved efforts to convince and secure the participation of Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sani, the head caretaker of the Sufi shrine in the tour. As seen, the Sufi master provided the participants an additional experience by participating as a coactor in the presentation but was also kind enough to allow the participants a tour of his 13th century home and personally guided and allowed the entire group to enter the main shrine from within his home; however, the next time I wanted to organize such a tour again, the Sufi master expressed his regrets that he was unable to allow the access into his home. The reason he gave me was that soon after my earlier presentation, another person came with a group and had the audacity to not only barge into the courtyard of his house but had also ordered his nephew to open the door of his home, which opened into the main complex of the Sufi shrine. He was appalled at the insensitivity of the organizers of tourism productions and their lack of respect for the private spaces of those who lived in the area. Since then, as a mark of respect, I usually do not enter his house at all unless he himself invites me to do so.

The commercialization of art and culture due to tourism does have an adverse effect on intangible heritage. It is important to understand processes and their effects such as in the manner commercial tourist attractions including the entertainment industry are particularly affected in their approaches and technologies impressing the presentation of that culture in different settings and circumstances. A popular component of showcasing India to the world has been the inclusion of a folk dance called the Kalbelia. Kalbelia is dance from Rajasthan, a western state in India, performed traditionally by the snake charmer community. The story is that during the monsoon, the snake holes get filled with water and the snakes are flushed out. Nervous villagers thus invited snake charmers to charm the snakes and



Jahaz Mahal (Ship Palace), Mehrauli

"take them away." The snake charmers belong to a particular caste, as is the case with all traditional professions. One old charmer described the manner in which the dance started: "Girls in our community were inspired with the movements of the snake and that is how the dance gradually took form. *Kalbelia* dance was really imitating and stylizing the sinuous movements of snakes. It became another way to supplement our income."[19] The dance, with its distinctive costume comprising a long black embroidered skirt with silver ribbons, has come to be one of the most popular "items" for cultural shows in promoting Indian cultural tourism and showcasing heritage. Side by side, snake charming, which was also a part of heritage showcasing, has been opposed by environmentalists. Together, the demand for Kalbelia dancers and the falling fortunes facing snake charmers has had an adverse effect on the dance form and the lifestyles of the dancers. The growing popularity of the dance has attracted several dancers who do not belong to the snake charming community. The movements of the dance no longer imitate the movements of the snake but are poor reflections of other common Rajasthani dances. It is only the costume that remains authentic. Thus, rampant business opportunities provided by tourism to the art and artists performing Kalbelia have nearly obliterated the original dance form and it survives today as a mere skeletal reminder of an entire folk tradition.

I once curated a walking exhibit titled "Monsoons—Expressions of Architecture, Lifestyles, and Stories." The walk was designed in Mehrauli. It covered the architecture and sociology of stepwells, the Jahaz Mahal or the ship palace, and the lake called Shamsi Talab. The narrative on the walk described the importance of water harvesting and the traditional methods of trapping water. The walk ended with the dance of Kalbelia. The reason for including Kalbelia in the exhibit was to show the link between monsoons and the image of the serpent. I had requested a snake charmer to come and play his *pungi* (a wind instrument used by snake charmers) and asked him to identify a dancer who could perform the original dance. The snake charmer regretted that he did not know any dancer who knew the dance as it was supposed to be performed. Finally, he was able to get his old sister who then trained a young dancer. The performance took place with the *pungi* and the *dafli* (a flat hand-played percussion). That was when I realized what tourism had done to this dance form.

The Kalbelia has become an important feature of all festivals that aim to showcase Indian culture and attract tourists both from India and abroad. It is as much an important cultural element in the widely publicized annual camel fair in Pushkar in Rajasthan as it is in the Festivals of India organized by the government. These festivals sprouted a large number of cultural impresarios who were mere businessmen with no cultural education. They exploited this cultural capital and linked it with tourism. They were not bothered about aesthetics or the sociological effects on the dance and its interface with tourism. Gradually, the growing demand for the spectacular dance form led to the complete destruction of its original format and aesthetics.

It is for this reason that there is a need for cultural professionals trained in aspects of human sciences and cultural studies to be engaged with the business of exhibiting culture. Today, when India is emerging as a market economy, we cannot expect that the burden of cultural conservation and representation is taken up solely by public-administered cultural institutions. Opportunities in modern-day India have made it possible to launch and run a dignified sustainable model of cultural entrepreneurship in the business of exhibiting heritage with the heritage walk medium as one attractive illustration. The walking tour may remain the core activity, but there is the potential to expand the knowledge bank gained from walking exhibits into several other activities of cultural display and representation, which in turn suggest additional ways of income generation.

The dynamic of economics and culture irons itself out when the market forces urge the public intellectual to perform in order to retain and expand the audience base, not only on a short-term basis but one that matures into a long-term client. This must be done with due attention to maintaining the standard of both the academic element and a sensitivity to cultural and artistic traditions and their creators.

The determination to enlarge the audience base by enhancing academic content and attempting to encode and decode culturalscapes for a larger number of people ensures a sustainable income generating model for the creators of walking exhibits and the attendant participants such as tradition bearers and other service providers who are essential components of the core economic activity of walking exhibits.

As in all business ventures, proper planning, management, and execution are essential for the economic survival of the professional enterprise on its own, without the dependency on grants.

Yet, taking the lesson from what happened to the Kalbelia, it is important that the business of exhibiting culture remains wary of the glitz of the capitalist mode. The old Indian belief that Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, cannot stay Saraswati, the goddess of knowledge, is a tenet that ought to to be observed. On one hand, it is imperative that the public academician is not completely overwhelmed with expanding demand for cultural displays, which means expanding patronage and markets for walking exhibits. On the other hand, the reality for survival challenges her to understand the reality of the economics of the profession. It is therefore important to continue to balance academic production on heritage showcasing with the business acumen of expanding the audience base.

While producing and creating walking exhibits, one has to guard against becoming mechanical and functioning in structured compartments. After all, the texture and dynamics of cultural heritage are that of a flowing phenomenon that surrounds each society from time to time, present and future.

Culture cannot be structured and therefore much of the exhibiting will always remain, as we have seen earlier in the chapter, outside the economic frame. This character of cultural heritage is coerced to recognize and incorporate the humanistic emotional element in culturalscapes. It is this unexpected human element and human activity that creates the natural aesthetics and flow. The broadening of markets and demand tends to create a mechanical attitude to presenting culturalscapes; this in turn provokes the presenter of the exhibition to smother the natural flowing content inherent in the culturalscapes.

Today, however, world over, tourism and all aspects surrounding it are being treated as an industry, an economic enterprise. One of the aims of tourism is to showcase the cultural heritage of a particular location with a certain level of academic insight and sophisticated presentation. It is not only needed but well appreciated—as one participant attending an eclectic heritage tour exhibit at the world heritage site of the rock-cut caves of Ajanta and Ellora in Maharashtra, a central western state in India remarked: "How many times have you gazed at an ancient edifice and wondered what its story was? How many times has a tour guide given you unsatisfactory, even questionable answers?"[20]

Identifying interested, talented, and qualified study leaders as curators and presenters is of great importance in trying to institutionalize the business of walking exhibits. Every year, university and college departments of fine arts, arts and aesthetics, museum studies, performing arts centers, and schools of conservation and heritage studies send out a large number of potential "cultural professionals." All these professionals need to earn a livelihood. One of the options that they have, which has emerged because of the growing tourism industry in India, is that of a presenter of heritage through the mode of walking exhibits. One aspect of this profession is choosing to create and be involved in designing and executing walking exhibits as a business of exhibiting culture and heritage.

It is a reality that there are few vacancies in the institutes mentioned earlier to accommodate the various professionals; graduates of arts and aesthetics then have an option to function as independent scholars and create spaces for themselves in the public arena. It is important that young students of art and related studies view this activity as a new career option of adopting the mantle of a public academician, as a cultural professional engaged in exhibiting culture. In this book, showcasing heritage is portrayed as a unique academic space for a cultural professional to educate people about a cultural heritage, in turn providing them an opportunity to legitimize their role as a public academician. Most of these fresh graduates are self-employed. If the idealism of these young cultural professionals that urges them to contribute and serve the field of arts, generally perceived to be a non-profit sector, can be utilized to gain legitimacy for their work and ensure some sort of regular income, a dual purpose will be served. It would be a challenge for them to create a space for themselves in the world of culture in a manner that makes them effective enough to influence policy on cultural activities.

In the specific instance of walking tours as a cultural academic activity, I believe that one of the best ways to achieve this is to evolve a practical income generation plan associated with professional training. This will motivate the young professional to remain creative, dynamic, innovative, and contribute to the field of cultural studies. Thorough professionalism is the only way legitimacy for the work, respectability for the job, and acceptance as a new category of "professionals" can be established; but for this to occur, the most important step is to accept that exhibiting culture is a perfectly honest and legitimate industry and that there is no stigma attached to making culture a financially viable or profitable enterprise. Once that is clear, a new strategy to recruit and train cultural professionals and give them a free rein to create and design walking exhibits—not centered in and on Delhi alone but all of India, or any other part of the world—will have to be devised. In addition, training administrators and marketing personnel as well as field staff to assist study leaders is a must. As a result, a whole new category of employment opportunities is created.

As mentioned earlier, the task of creating appropriate study leaders is not only essential for the growth of the business, but also imperative to the institutionalization of the professional service of exhibiting cultures. It means that a separate marketing strategy has to be evolved. Building a personal brand and growing the audience base means stabilizing an economic model, which ensures a decent stipend for the trainees and a respectable salary thereafter. Since this is a very new field for cultural professionals, there is need to convince institutional heads and senior cultural professionals not only of the potential of the career option but also assure them of the inherent capacity of this option to contribute to the academic side of cultural studies. That is, a cultural professional opting for this career can, and indeed, must continue her research, apply the researched knowledge creatively to real-life situations, be prepared to face the challenge of interpreting culturalscapes from different perspectives, and decode culture for larger sections of society. As in teaching, the rewards for one's efforts are immediately visible and tangible, and job satisfaction is guaranteed.

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5. *Tawaif* is the word used for courtesans in North India. The courtesan culture died by mid-20th century after changes in land reforms were introduced in free India. The landed aristocracy formed the economic backbone of the courtesan culture. *Tawaifs* went off to make their fortunes in Bollywood and unfortunately were perceived as prostitutes and were ostracized by the mainstream society.
6. David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 114.
7. Muharram is the first month of the Islamic lunar calendar and is most sacred of the months next to Ramadan, the month of fasting. It is considered unlawful to fight during this month—therefore, is derived from the word *harram*, which means "forbidden."
8. *Imambaras* are congregation halls for Shia ritual ceremonies, especially used during the observances of Muharram. Shias mourn the death of Imam Hussein who was killed in Karbala, Iraq, over a thousand years ago. In many places it is called Husseinias but in South Asia it is called *imambaras*.
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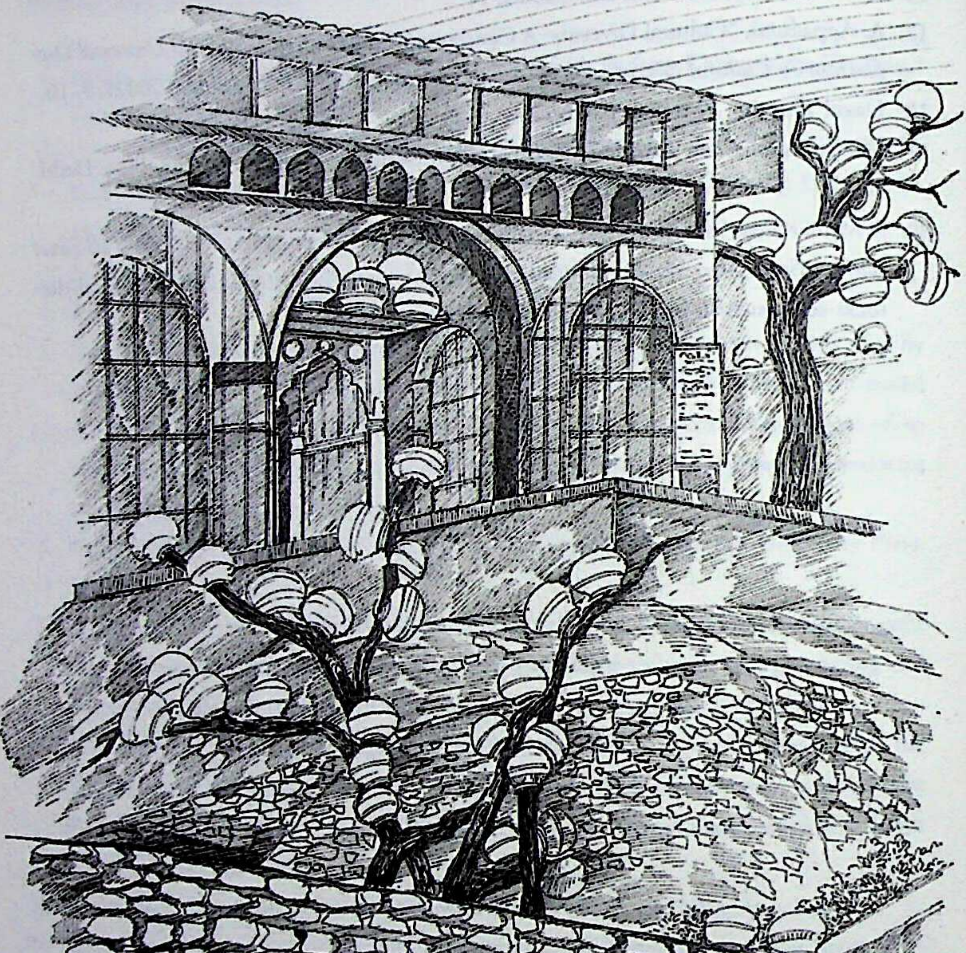

Matka Pir, Purana Qila

CHAPTER V

Walking Exhibits as Brokering Culture

In this book I have presented walking exhibits as a mode by which the cultural heritage of a country is interpreted and represented. It is a medium where the processes of displays take place not only in the natural environment in which the cultural heritage exists, but also where the process of exhibiting is of the people, for people, and the community participative element implies that it is also by the people. As a popular and growing contemporary phenomenon in India, it is a cosmopolitan format of public culture that remains aligned with the emerging new India—an India that is very much a country that is being affected by globalization.

> A study of cosmopolitan cultural forms such as domestic tourism in contemporary India would be of considerable and intrinsic interest for those concerned to understand modernity as a global phenomenon.
>
> However, we would like to propose that these cosmopolitan forms raise a larger set of terminological as well as interpretive problems about the way in which public life in the contemporary world are being culturally articulated.[1]

Problematizing or critically analyzing the walking exhibits as a phenomenon for brokering the image of India against the emerging global economic and social changes is what I intend to do in this chapter.

The image of India and its cultural representation through the activity of walking exhibits can be viewed as a means of brokering culture. In his book *Reflections of a Cultural Broker*, Richard Kurin introduced the term cultural brokering to define various modes and means adopted for cultural representation. "Professionals in the cultural fields who engage in the public representation of culture through museum exhibits, performance programs, documentary films and recordings, the creation of Web sites, public lectures, and the writings of ethnographies (for an audience beyond specialized experts) are brokering culture."[2]

The term "brokering" is a relatively new concept in the field of the arts. What it basically suggests is that the "strategic broker" creates circumstances in which those who recognise a problem (or an issue), are able to interact with those who have the means to resolve it. He plays the role of facilitator, mediator and guide who promotes understanding between the two parties.[3]

Brokering the image of the nation through the medium of walking tours in modern India is rather complex. The experience of India by exhibiting Indian cultural heritage is a schema that in contemporary India is managed predominantly by the patronage and initiative of the government. This is done by the organization of several kinds of exhibits on Indian heritage in the form of festivals both national and international, and organizing artists and other cultural professionals to be sent to different parts of India and abroad to exhibit Indian culture by means of lecturing, performing, holding workshops, and so on. Yet, in recent years, there have been successful private stories in installing exhibits on India, within and outside of India. For example, the well-known designer Rajeev Sethi was commissioned to design the Silk Road Folklife Festival for the Smithsonian Museum in 2002, which included a significant representation of India. As a category of public culture, the walking exhibits portray this complexity in the manner they are produced and executed.

The consequence of the growing popularity of walking exhibits can be perceived as a format of public culture to broker culture. Appadurai and Breckenridge's essay "Why Public Culture?" captures the complexities of a program of public culture that it is a contested zone; it is not really national culture, or I ought to say, even representative of the national culture.

> Yet, public culture is not the same as national culture, for national culture is itself a contested mode, embattled, on the one hand, by transnational cultural messages and forces (which sometimes threaten the nation-state), and, on the other hand, by indigenous critiques from the various sectors that continuously threaten the cultural hegemony of the nation-state. Most of all, national culture, in countries like India, is an uneasy collaboration between the cultural agencies of nation-state and private, largely commercial agencies which dominate certain kinds of cultural production. Today, in India, the control of cultural production is shared in a fragile and variable way between the state and private enterprise, depending on the kind of cultural product that is involved. Public culture in late twentieth century India is thus a contested terrain. The actors in the contest are a variety of producers of culture and their audiences; the materials in the contest are the many cultural modalities we have discussed; and the methods, increasingly shared by all parties, involve the mass media, as well as mechanical modes of reproduction.[4]

Brokering the image of India is complex and interesting. There are some stereotypical images of India that have been operational since long and, today, there are also some contrasting images. The point of presenting cultural heritage through walking exhibits is not only to unravel the various existent Indias but also to engage the audience to understand that interpreting various images of India can enable the understanding of global issues such as conflict and peace. It can also create awareness of the great value of cultural heritage in the fast-changing world.

I begin with some examples of the stereotypical images of India that have been brokered in and for tourism. For example, if one reviews the imaging of India in the field of tourism—a case study could be that of the images of India advertised in the government-sponsored project titled "Incredible India." The recently successful Incredible India campaign incorporates aspects of promoting tourism in the country through poster images. The visual impressions of India as the land of the exotic is complimented with catchy phrases, for example, a shot capturing a Royal Bengal Tiger has the phrase "Not all Indians are Vegetarians" written under it, while a poster on adventure tourism showing a person paragliding carriesthe caption "We Believe in

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After Life!" The image of exotic India has, since the 20th century, translated itself in brokering the experience of a Maharaja lifestyle, for instance, which began even with the Imperial rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries:

> ... beyond, the political sphere, the British, and later North Americans and Indians themselves, imagined the Indian princes, especially those in Rajputana, to represent a world of fantasy in which international tourists might sample elements of an aristocratic way of life that was becoming increasingly remote from daily social reality.[5]

The theme of the Maharaja experience manifests itself in various ways; from the various suites in five-star hotels called the Maharaja or Maharani suites to palanquin carriers in the rock temples of Ajanta and Ellora offering the tourist the royal experience of being carried around the caves. A more recent aspect is to organize interactions with Maharajas. Remote Lands, a prestigious travel company engaged in high-end travel, organize interactions with Maharajas over tea parties and such like.

This image remains a contrast to the other kind of exotic that remains situated on the other side of the spectrum of the Maharaja experience. It is the experience of the exotica of poverty, which has given rise to "poverty tourism."

> Poverty tourism—sometimes known as "poorism"—did not originate in Mumbai (formerly Bombay). For years, tour operators have been escorting foreign visitors through Rio de Janeiro's infamous *favelas*, with their drug gangs and ocean views and the vast townships outside Cape Town and Johannesburg, where tourists are invited to mix with South Africans at one of the illicit beer halls known as shebeens. A nonprofit group in New Delhi charges tourists for guided walks through the railway station, to raise money for the street children who haunt its platforms.[6]

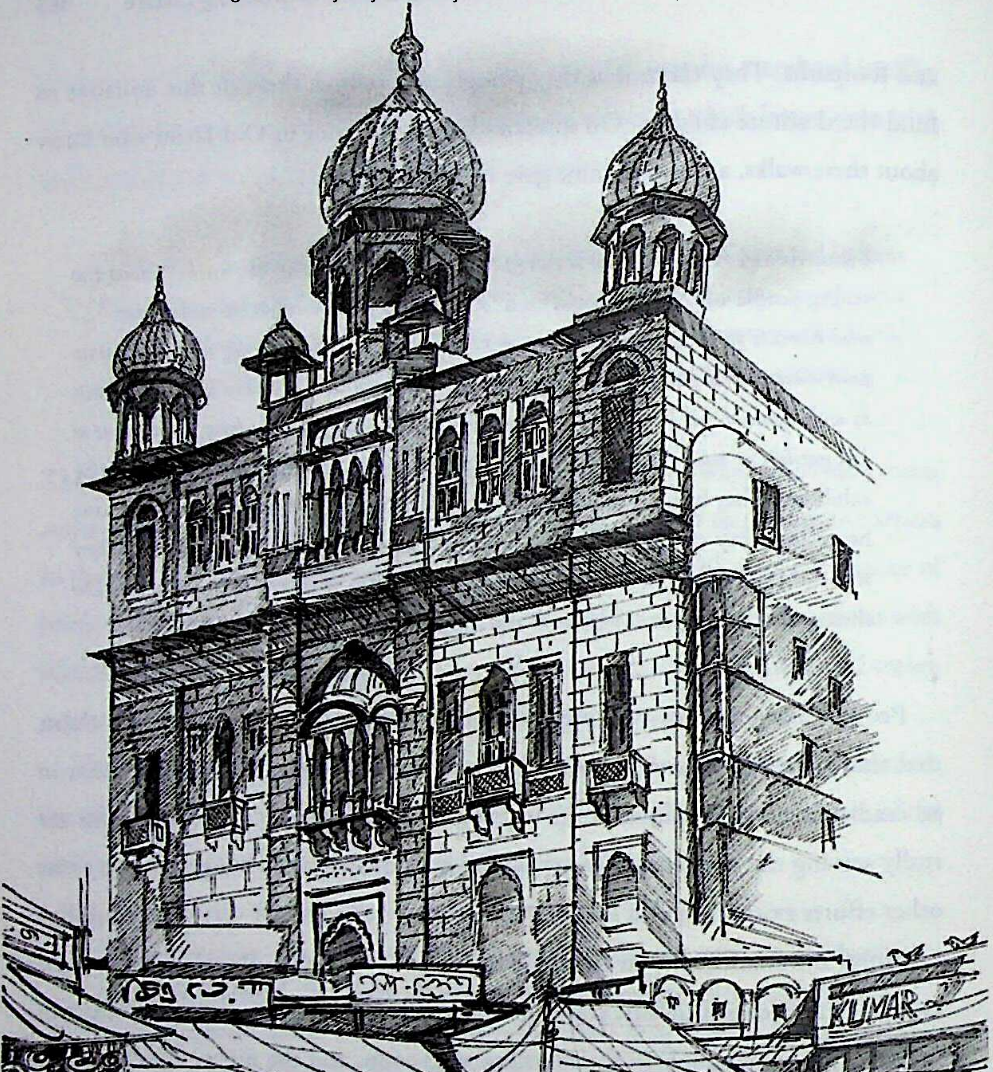
Poverty appears to have captivated the Western capitalist market as a thematic product that will sell. Writers, painters and, filmmakers alike have made successful bucks brokering the image of poor India. The recent market success of *Slumdog Millionaire*, both as a book and a film, and Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* proves my point. Poverty tourism, as mentioned earlier, has been packaged as urban walking exhibits too; and here is what I object to and debate. In Old Delhi, for example, there is a nonprofit organization that organizes paid night walks exhibiting the life of railway platforms and footpaths. They claim that they plough money back through this initiative to fund the destitute children. On interviewing several poor in Old Delhi who knew about these walks, a friend of mine gave me this reaction:

> I interviewed Afsar Bhai, he is rickshaw puller in Old Delhi. He knows about the young people who bring people for a "slum walks"; this is what he said to me: "… *woh hamari garibi jindagi ko numaish ki tarh dikhate hain. Itne log unke saath aate jaate hain. Suna hai ki whoh unse paise bhi lete hain. Kabhi kabhi hum sunte hain ki woh kambal roti bant te hain. Magar usse kuch hota toh nahin hain. Aisa karne se kya garibhi or nasha chala jata hai?*" [… they show our poverty as something to be exhibited. They bring considerable number of people in and out of this area. I have heard that they charge people for showing them our lives. I have heard that they sometimes distribute food, blankets to the poor. But what can that really do? Do these paltry efforts remove poverty and drug abuse?][7]

People engaged with walking exhibits in relation to poverty tourism claim that they hope for educating people and creating awareness of poverty to assist in its eradication. Afsar Bhai and the interviewer firmly believe that these walks are really serving the pockets of those who organize the walk. In comparison to some other efforts existent in Old Delhi, these poverty walks are not very successful. For example, simultaneously, in the Sikh shrine of Gurudwara Sheesh Ganj in Old Delhi, it has been a ritualistic code for centuries to provide daily, free meals for two to three thousand people in the morning, afternoon, and the night, in addition to which tea is served two times a day. The Sikh institution also houses and provides a free health dispensary service in which volunteer general physicians, dentists, and orthopedic doctors.

Between the two initiatives, the former, the slum walk, can be referred to as a category of development tourism. While the service provided by the Sikh shrine is something that the civil society, through religious means, perceives as social duty and service to people the poor around Old Delhi do not see the efforts by the nonprofit organization promoting awareness of poverty as something that will really bring about any change in their lives.

John Lancaster critically commented on similar efforts in Dharavi, a squatter settlement in Mumbai often described as the biggest slum in Asia. Situated between



Street Scene in Front of Gurudwara Sheesh Ganj Sahib, Chandni Chowk two rail lines in the northern part of the city, it once sustained a thriving fishery. The creek is now a sump of sewage and industrial waste, and the air above Dharavi is foul. The brilliant cinematography in the film *Slumdog Millionaire* captures the darkness of the area. Describing the slum, Lancaster writes:

> It is also one of India's newest tourist attractions. Since January of last year, a young British entrepreneur, Christopher Way, and his Indian business partner Krishna Poojari, have been selling walking tours of Dharavi as if it were Jerusalem's walled city or the byways of Dickens' London. There seems to be a market for this sort of thing: almost every day during the recent December holidays, small groups of foreign travelers, accompanied by Poojari or another guide, tramped through Dharavi's fetid alleys in a stoic quest for ... What? Enlightenment? Authenticity? The three-hour excursions are slated for mention in a forthcoming *Lonely Planet* guide, and they cost about $6.75 a head—more if you want to go to Dharavi by air-conditioned car.[8]

The walking exhibits as a mode to broker culture can break these stereotyped images of the country. Through cultural representation, the mode of walking exhibits has the power to assert the understanding of the many Indias that exist in many centuries simultaneously. As such, brokering images of India can be complex; it has to take into account the layers of cultural history that simultaneously exist and are intricately enmeshed together.

Brokering Indian culture, which involves imaging India on one hand and cultural representation on the other, has to be carefully and sensitively executed. In his article on poverty tourism, Lancaster writes:

> In a lengthy report last September, the Indian English-language *Times Now* television channel attacked them as an exercise in voyeurism and a sleazy bid to "cash in on the poor-India image." The report was followed by a panel discussion in which the moderator all but accused Poojari of crimes against humanity.[9]

Rather than introducing development or conservation, brokering culture can have reverse effects as cultural initiatives participate in the culture of consumerism.

Walking exhibits as a mode by which culture is brokered can therefore be rather complicated. From the fantasy of selling and brokering Maharaja dreams on one side of the index to the other extreme of presenting the exotica of poverty tourism in a manner that is at once controversial and too simplistic; there are many Indias as there are many nations within nations. The tool of brokering culture by imaging a nation gives walking exhibits a means to broker the identity of a nation. I expand upon and explan this by way of an illustration. The main idea that I proceed to illustrate in relation to India is its unity in diversity, its multiculturalism, which in the face of the homogenization of culture, is an important facet of the character of India and many other nations. Exhibiting heritage is a marker of the cultural presentation and representation of a national identity. This is best illustrated in the description of a tour of Varanasi in North India. Among several exhibits planned as part of the tour, I wish to refer to two exhibits that showcased the idea of the Indian nation. The first was a visit to the Bharat Mata Mandir (temple of Mother India) in Varanasi, and second was a visit to Sarnath, a town close to Varanasi where Gautam Buddha gave his first sermon.

The Bharat Mata Mandir (temple of Mother India) is dedicated to the human manifestation of India, which is popularly called Mother India or Bharat Mata in Hindi. This temple houses not a statue or bust of Bharat Mata; instead, it has a very big relief map of undivided India carved out of marble. The temple was inaugurated by none other than Mahatma Gandhi in 1936. The map of undivided India is the central object of worship in the temple. The temple is a handiwork of two people, namely, Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta and Shri Durga Prasad Khatri. While the former was a nationalist leader, the latter was a renowned numismatist and antiquarian. Where on one hand, as J. B. Harley writes, maps convey an impersonal type of knowledge that tends to "desocialize" the territory they represent, they foster the notion of a socially empty space; on the other hand, an alternate tradition is considered of mapping territory in which the nation is cartographically presented to its subject-citizens not as "empty social space" but as "Mother India," the Indian nation imagined as woman, mother, and goddess. Through an analysis of such "bodyscapes" of Mother India, researcher Sumathy Ramaswamy debates what is at stake in cartographically deploying the female body to map national territory and considers how such bodyscapes, even as they systematize a particular visual image of "India," also consolidate the notion of the nation as motherland.[10] I quoted one of the incidents she narrates in her essay

"Body Politic(s): Maps and Mother Goddesses in Modern India," in my presentation on the Bharat Mata Mandir temple in Varanasi:

> Why does the nation long for cartographic form, and where does this longing take it in colonial and post-colonial India? [She goes on to describe an incident in the life of K. M. Munshi (1887–1971)], lawyer littérateur and Hindu nationalist politician from Gujarat. Around 1905, as a young patriot, Munshi met the Hindu nationalist Aurobindo Ghosh (1872–1950) and asked him,
>
> "How can one become patriotic?" With a disarming smile, Aurobindo pointed at a wall map of India and said: "Do you see this map? It is not a map but a portrait of *Bharat-mata* [Mother India]: its cities and mountains, rivers and jungles form her physical body. All her children are her nerves, large and small ... Concentrate on Bharat (India) as a living mother, worship her with nine-fold *bhakti* (devotion)."[11]

This identity, when presented as part of a walking tour in Varanasi raised debates—first of all in relation to the territory shown in the maps of the temple, for example, of the undivided India and set the stage for raising postcolonial debates over the concept of Bharat Mata in terms of postcolonial India and the emerging and ever-growing expansion of her identity. From the visualization of the nation as the dream of the oppressed, today as the map is viewed, is the reality of free people visualizing the identity of their nation.

As Appadurai and Breckenridge in their introduction to the book *Consuming Modernity* state,

> media, consumption, and global cultural flows that have spawned new forms of travel that constitute one are among many that create transnational public culture in the late 20th century. The concept of public culture is more than a rubric for collectively thinking about aspects of modern life now thought about separately. It also allows us to hypothesize not a type of cultural phenomenon but a zone of cultural debate. We now speculate that this zone may be characterized as an arena where other types, forms, and domains of culture are encountering, interrogating, and contesting each other in new and unexpected ways. Thus national culture seeks to co-opt and redefine more local, regional, or folk cultural forms ...[12]

The brokering of Indian culture through the medium of walking exhibits has the capacity of dealing with the complexities of merging various experiences as they exist in the natural atmosphere of a culturalscape. The exhibits as academic experiences not only provide spaces to critique various works of scholars on the cultural landscapes from various perspectives but also have the capacity to incorporate physical and psychological changes in the landscapes and its people. The channel of interweaving these complexities lies in the technical device of knitting thematic narratives that provide an interpretation of culturalscapes and concurringly feeds that understanding into issues of cultural identities in a global realm. "India is a locality but it is better described as a site or a spatial vortex in which complex historical processes come into conjunction and global processes that link such sites together."[13]

Relating to the economic dynamics of brokering culture by means of exhibiting cultural heritage aims to, in the words of Appadurai and Breckenridge, capture complex negotiations between cultural producers and consumers.[14] There is no running away from the fact that creating the understanding of culturalscape and making cultural heritage relevant for contemporary times is about negotiating the value of heritage to people. It also means brokering the economics of this activity in a manner that it becomes a system and feeds into other systems of education, tourism, and so on. The overarching economic background the underlying brokering of culture remains relevant for the existence of the activity itself.

In negotiating the image of the nation through walking exhibits, the issue of identity becomes a central topic. Often the heritage exhibited contains traditions and identities. These traditions and identities in their present contexts can be something that are being violated or transgressed, both in the physical sense and in the spirit in which they were meant to be; for instance, in present times there is the question of Islamic identity. Brokering traditions and interpreting them can be instrumental at times in countering the violent outside forces as well as changes in the physical environment that create nostalgia, in addition to functioning as a drive to retrieve their original meaning and purpose and restore within small spaces a certain equilibrium.

> In the twentieth century, cultures and identities reckon with local and transnational powers to an unprecedented degree. Indeed, the currency of culture and identity as performative acts can be traced to their articulation of homelands, safe places where the traffic across borders can be controlled. Such acts of control, maintaining coherent insides and outsides, are always tactical. Cultural action, the making and remaking of identities takes place in the contact zones, along the policed and transgressive

> intercultural frontiers of nations, peoples, locales. Stasis and purity are asserted creatively and violently against historical forces of movement and contamination.[15]

By way of an illustration, I describe a tour exhibit titled "Religion, Education & Environmental Landscape—A Walking Tour in Hauz Khaz" to elaborate that brokering culture through walking exhibits helps to counter outside violent forces that disrupt the meanings of traditions and identities.

Hauz Khaz in South Delhi has an important place in the history of the city. Today, the area where some significant monuments stand is often referred to as the Hauz Khaz Village. All along, the road to the village and within it is dotted with two prominent structures—a pond and the ruins of a massive madrassa. During the last decade of the 13th century, the Khiljis came to rule Delhi. They were a group of Afghan adventurers with Turkish origins. Their most celebrated ruler was Alauddin Khilji who was also known to have initiated the construction of one of cities of Delhi called Siri. One of the main features to have remained of his time is a pond—an essential water work project to counter water shortage. The pond went out of use but was revived by Feroz Shah Tuglaq in the 14th century. As one of the earliest Muslim kings to have thought of the social welfare of his people, Feroz Shah built extensively. This massive madrassa in the Hauz Khaz Village remains an example of his effort.

The walk was organized against recent bombings in the city of Delhi (2008) in which students from a central university with an Islamic name but a secular image were caught for their association with the bombings. As part of the walk, a Muslim scholar was invited to read out various verses on education inscribed on the tomb and supplement it with verses on education from the Koran and the Hadiths. The narrative discussed the ethos of education in the Islamic madrassas and their history in Delhi. Within the narrative there was a description of the relationship between the importance of water bodies and the setting up of educational institutions. The narrative also addressed traditional modes of water harvesting and other environmental issues. This walk was especially curated with the current controversies regarding the role of Islamic educational madrassas in the growth of Islamic terrorism.

While the narrative on the exhibit aimed at understanding the selected heritage from a distinct perspective, one could not but be aware that what was 'exhibited and brokered to the audience was something that highlighted the fragility of cultures, the value of education in the face of stereotyping of growth, and the nature of Islamic terrorism and its relation to Islamic educational institutions. Soon after the bomb blasts in the city of Delhi on September 13, 2008, for which young Muslim university students were held responsible, I organized a walk for a number of students from various schools and university in the Sufi complex of the Shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin. The walk was titled "Sufism and Understanding of Jihad." As the presenter and cultural broker, I drew much from the recently released book *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* by Ayesha Jalal, which is a thought-provoking study of the interplay of religion and politics. In my narrative I spoke about South Asia, especially India, as a region where a Muslim minority has had a long and complex relationship with other communities—where each period of history has seen a shift in the ideas of jihad. Inspired by Jalal's book, I brought out the inner meaning of jihad as implied by Prophet Muhammad as an inner spiritual struggle to evolve as a human and celebrate in being God's greatest creation. I brought out the manner in which the political spread of Islam reversed the inner struggle to an outer fight against the non-believers in the objective of political expansion. In the role of a presenter, it was important to strategically debate the role of Sufis in South Asia in assisting the reassertion of the original meaning of jihad in South Asia; as a cultural broker, I was conscious of brokering the cultural representation of the Sufi tradition and recreating its value and the role it has played, and can continue to play to counter the destructive violent resurgence of fundamentalist Islam; a destructive force that is continuing to exploit cultural identities to promote conflict. In this walk, as a cultural broker, I was impelled to critically link the past and the significant idea of a heritage to present concerns regarding the fragility of identities and traditions.

The first chapter threw light on the objective of exhibiting heritage as a means for conserving heritage. Conservation is a natural corollary of exhibiting heritage as it performs and acts to interpret ideas and decode the symbols and inner meanings of heritage for various audiences. The engagement aims to create consciousness among a cross section of people regarding the value of cultural heritage. It communicates the layers of a heritage, its tangible and intangible inner fabric, its living and built history, and as such it assists in the process of conserving heritage. In communicating an understanding of heritage, the actual process can be defined as brokering culture to an audience. As a point in case, I refer to the walk among the monuments of Hauz Khaz described earlier.

As mentioned earlier, the area of Hauz Khaz used to be an important part of the city in the period of the early Muslim kings in the 14th and 15th centuries. A large number of monuments dotted the area; today, it is defined by posh residential neighborhoods, commercial activities, and several historical monuments. The walk in the area was limited to exhibiting some important historical areas and monuments in the Hauz Khaz Village, as referred to earlier. In present times, Hauz Khaz is very much an urbanized part of South Delhi and although some historical monuments remain well preserved, they vie for the space for their existence against builders who continue to create homes for growing urban population or to expand spaces for commercial activities around the monuments. The Hauz Khaz Village, which a few decades ago was an archetypal North Indian village in the heart of Delhi's urban sprawl, in present times is a shopper's paradise successfully marketing the concept of "ethnicity" in every possible way. There are boutiques selling furniture, clothes, jewelry, and art along with a smattering of restaurants that serve a variety of "authentic" cuisine. A narrow central road runs right through the shopping area. Besides the narrative that has been described earlier, anther presentation of the site is based on the theme of conservation. Thus, the culturalscape has been presented and brokered to various audiences with different objectives. The walking exhibit on the issue of conservation among the monuments of Hauz Khaz began with the narrative drawing attention to the struggle of the monuments in the face of increasing building activity. This also referred to another happening in the city.

In October, 2008, a priceless relic of Delhi's medieval past fell to the greed of builders. Parts of a 13th century monument, built by Ghiyasuddin Balban (1200–1286 CE) that once gave shelter to the Arab traveler Ibn Batuta in the 14th century, was demolished by private builders to make way for a multi-storey complex. The role of society in the conservation of monuments was presented for a debate among the audience, which comprised largely of professionals from several multinational companies. Brokering is a strategic networking of various players who can engage with cultural heritage on several levels. In this walk I was able to bring out the frail issue of conserving heritage in the race for expanding modern construction activities.

In the very creation of such exhibits, an effort was made by generating awareness about the heritage. The brokering was aimed to add to the efforts of conservation by other private and public organizations such as the Archaeological Survey of India and Municipal Corporation of Delhi. Under the law, no building activity can take place within a hundred meters of a monument protected by the Archaeological Survey of India—a fact that the presenter made reference to. The demolished structure was placed in the category of heritage of highest value by the Delhi chapter of INTACH. The Archaeological Survey of India had even proposed a plan to give this monument (Lal Mahal) along with some others a facelift. It is believed that the *tehkhana* (basement) on which the structure stood still survives. The extent of the damage could not be assessed since the builders responsible for its destruction have built a barricade around the building, blocking all the view of the structure.

Exhibiting heritage is a mode to create civic consciousness for the preservation of the heritage and places responsibility on citizens to actively participate in protecting the heritage that defines their nation. The efforts of exhibiting heritage through walking exhibits as academic tours are similar to the role museums play in conservation.

> Given the massive destruction of world cultures in the twentieth century ... museum [academic tour] strategy is all the more important. The lesser goal involves the effort to collect artifacts and document lifeways before those cultures and memories of them disappear. The greater goal is for museums to play a role in the conservation of these cultures, to actually help those cultures survive in the contemporary world. The resource with which museums can accomplish this is not food nor money nor partisan political power. Rather, museums [walking exhibits as academic tours] offer a somewhat unique social and intellectual platform that can be used to represent cultures. Museums are empowered with the discourse of scholarship and science. This discourse is potent, for while it supports, advertently or inadvertently, overtly or covertly, positions that are broadly political, it also allows museums to represent themselves as neutral, apolitical. This discourse, combined with the social positions of the museums, empowers the museum [cultural broker] as an institution to publicly confer legitimacy—of knowledge, of an aesthetic, of a sense of history, of cultural value.[16]

As cultural brokers engaged in the art of heritage walks, the role of public academicians and public folklorist as defining this unique profession is brought out. "Public folklore—the documentation, preservation, presentation and interpretation of culture for the public—opened the field to a broad range of activity in the form of festivals, exhibitions, media productions of various kinds and advocacy for local culture and cultural equity."[17]

Museum objects and conservation were Western concepts and thus people had to be educated in understanding and valuing the new status of such a building. The heritage walks are thus a means to educate people to create that understanding and in the process, the activity assists conservation and remains very much an activity of cultural brokering. Exhibiting heritage is a channel that assumes the role of a process for the dissemination of the value of heritage to the public at large. By reading culturalscapes from different perspectives and presenting the perspectives through heritage exhibit tours, the presenter in her role of a public academician acquires a platform to link contemporary issues to the past histories related to the culturalscapes in question.

Exhibiting heritage as a specific category of cultural brokering represents a construct: "there is no exhibition without construction and therefore—in an extended sense—appropriation."[18] As described in an earlier chapter, the narrative of each exhibit is constructed by the cultural broker (the presenter) and is aimed to be tailored in a manner that can be apprehended by the participating audience in the tour. The appropriation is itself one of the modes by which the audience is linked to the culturalscape and comes to value the heritage.

The art of exhibiting heritage through the mode of walking tours is, as discussed in the book, a complex engagement—one which I argue creates a platform to represent the essence of a nation and asserts itself as a tool for cultural diplomacy. Brokering of the multi-images of a country forms a significant link with global culture on many levels. It is those multilevel links that can be explored in brokering the various images of a country and that too, with several other kinds of network systems. By decoding the multilevel identity of a nation, there are several entry points for people to engender links with a country. Reflecting on the previous chapters, it is apparent that the activity of exhibiting heritage is a complex engagement. It requires, as Kurin says, "the ability and the power to manipulate symbolic constructs, develop cultural representations, and present them to … audiences."[19] The audience in these tours is moving in the natural contemporary environment in which the heritage coexists while reflecting the past. The presenter as a cultural broker has the responsibility to weave the past with the present and resolve the contradictions of heritage and the contemporary spaces in which it exists. I intend to elucidate this concern by describing an exhibit on a street scene that was presented to the participants who went on an academic cultural tour to Varanasi. The description will also be self-explanatory with regard to multiculturalism in India, a seminal idea that remains an inherent part of the nation's identity.

Very often, one can see and experience multiple cultural streams existing simultaneously in India, especially with regard to the variety of religious streams. In March, 2008, I designed an exhibit on Varanasi. A visit to Sarnath, a small town in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India, about 13 kilometers northeast of the city of Varanasi, is the next exhibit that I proceed to describe.

It is famous as the site of the deer park where Lord Buddha first taught the dharma (first Sermon) and also where the original *sangha* (community of Buddhist monks) was formed. Consequently, it is one of the four main Buddhist pilgrimage destinations. The other three destinations, related to the other three major events in the life of Buddha, are: Lumbini in Nepal where he was born, Bodh Gaya in the state of Bihar (India) where he attained enlightenment, and Kushinagar again in Uttar Pradesh where he passed away. Within the deer park complex in Sarnath, there is the large Dhamekh Stupa, constructed by the Emperor Ashoka in 249 BCE, and several other Buddhist structures that were added between the 3rd century BCE and the 11th century CE. As the presenter of the tour, I planned visiting three "canvases" that exhibited different aspects of Buddhism and Buddhist culture. The first was a visit to the Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, followed by a visit to view the spectacular Buddhist sculptures at the Sarnath Museum, and then a visit to the stupa at Sarnath through the premises of a Jain temple.

The Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies is a unique organization. This institute represents an illustrious and creative statement of recreating a lost indigenous culture by the displaced Tibetan community in India. It was established with the objective of education in Tibetan Studies, a significant section of which focuses on studies on Buddhism. A distinct achievement of the institute is its library. As part of the exhibit, a Buddhist scholar monk in the institute was invited to introduce the work of the preservation, recovery, and conservation of Buddhist manuscripts in the

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institute. Unfortunately, this visit was marked by the recent unrest in Tibet. Students were out in the streets, trying to create awareness on the violation of human rights by the Chinese government in Tibet.

The group proceeded to the Sarnath Museum and then to view the Buddhist stupa in the deer park. The journey from one destination to another was by walking around a winding road almost in a triangular fashion. Through this winding journey, the audience confronted a display of varied religious forces simultaneously at work around the serpentine road. On one side outside the Sarnath Museum were the passionate demonstrations, speeches, and public appeals by the students from the Buddhist University in favor of the victims in Tibet. In front of the stupa there was a group of Buddhist monks visiting from Vietnam who chanted hymns of peace in the deer park; on yet another side of the road were taking place the congregational festivities of Jains in a nearby Jain temple and on a third side, a Muslim cleric spoke about sacrifice, self-restraint, discipline, peace, and social harmony in the middle of the road, where a tent had been set up and seats arranged for the audience to listen. It seemed that stringing all the three threads of religious expressions (Buddhism, Jainism, and Islam) together was a crowd of more than a thousand people imbibing the verbalization of the different streams of religious identities as they moved through the footpath bazaar that surrounded the three displays. It is exhibits such as the one described earlier that make exhibiting heritage a challenging exercise. In order to make sense of heritage as it unravels itself in the living and built formats, it is the presenter's responsibility to weave a narrative contextualizing the essence of a nation, its multiculturalism, and the contradictions of the cultural canvases in the environment around. As such, exhibiting heritage becomes a pursuit that engages people in experiencing and learning about aspects of a country that one usually reads about in books and sees in the media; this exhibit of exhibiting heritage brokered the vibrant multicultural character of India to audiences from within a natural landscape. It interpreted the reality of the ethos of which the audiences themselves became a part.

The art of exhibiting heritage is a means to broker a nation, in this instance, the "idea of India." In times when India's image is fast changing, exhibiting heritage can not only play an eminent role in communicating the essence of what India is about to non-Indians but also help Indians become reacquainted with the richness of their own cultural heritage. The subject of the heritage exhibit communicates the essence of a nation, as has been argued in the course of the book, which feeds into the manner in which citizens see themselves and the manner in which the image of a nation is projected to the world outside through experiencing first-hand the essence of Indian cultural heritage. The entire context of exhibiting heritage therefore assumes a wider and crucial overlay. It addresses and assumes awareness of how the world perceives India and how Indians understand themselves.

In the first chapter I wrote that the importance of such cultural displays can emerge as forums for debate, confrontation, and experimentation. The most important aspect in the debate of cultural representation is the communication of identity of not only a nation but also of different communities of people through their cultural heritage. The art of exhibiting heritage functions to translate, to construe, to render through heritage of the past and heritage of the present an understanding of an identity for the future and beyond.

> What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These "in-between" spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself [through its heritage].
>
> It is in the emergence of the interstices—the overlap and displacement of domains of difference—that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated ... in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual, and even incommensurable?[20]

A case in point was the exhibiting yet again of the Sufi complex of Hazrat Nizamuddin with a different perspective for a group of 40 history teachers from India and Pakistan. The purpose was not only to project the shared cultural history and living tradition symbolized in Sufism between the two countries but also to break down the stereotyping of the Muslim identity, especially in the backdrop of understanding what comprises

Islamic fundamentalism. In the deliberation of the narrative and the exchange of questions and answers, one of the Indian teachers made a reference to various Indian soap operas, especially the recently aired soap on the Rajput Hindu King Prithviraj Chauhan who ruled a kingdom in North India in the latter half of 12th century. The serial was widely watched by young children. Characterization of the Hindu king and his opponent, the Muslim invader Mohammad Ghori, was not only distorted but was also represented with a bias. Prithviraj Chauhan was the second last Hindu ruler to have ruled Delhi. He controlled several parts of the present-day Rajasthan and Haryana. He unified several Indian rulers to counter the growing invasions by Muslims. After his defeat in the hands of Mohammad Ghori (from Afghanistan) in 1192, India became vulnerable to the rise and success of political Muslim rule and therefore, Ghori is considered to be the founder of Muslim rule in India. In the television serial titled Prithviraj Chauhan, the Hindu ruler was shown as an ideal, brave hero fighting the cruel Mohammad Ghori. Introduction to the Muslim identity through the portrayal of Ghori's character was completely negative and was juxtaposed against the all-good character of the Hindu ruler.

In the discussion with the schoolteachers, I pointed out how the serial makes no attempt whatsoever to highlight any kind of positive facts about Ghori. For instance, the serial makes no mention of the personal life of Ghori, which could illustrate the human aspect of his character. The fact that he recognized his slaves, especially his Turkish slaves as his heirs, and patronized, educated, trained them in warfare and administration, and finally honored several of them with high and powerful positions is completely forgotten as is the fact that he was succeeded by the Slave Dynasty that honored his legacy. The exhibit of the Nizamuddin shrine for the 40 schoolteachers is an example of how the presentation of a culturalscape, as well as the narrative provided, can contribute to the debate on cultural representation and identity. The walking tour highlighted the similarities and differences between two major communities, Muslims and Hindus, in the Indian subcontinent. As such, walking tours as an exhibit emerge as a platform for debate and experiments that function to encourage reflection on the fact that, "the social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation."[21]

The journey for the participants is in itself is a phenomenon that is perceived by them (the audience) in various ways. In some sense, if one stops to reflect for a moment, the culturalscape is an intangible object that continuously changes in its meaning from within the presentation and perspectives of different walks, "in this processual view, the commodity phase of the life history of an object [culturalscape] does not exhaust its biography; it is culturally regulated; and its interpretation is open to individual manipulation to some degree."[22] It is open to the politics of exhibiting what and how to show selected parts of a culturalscape, much of which is done in the thematic title of the walks—for instance, the Chandni Chowk area may be presented variously as "Rising Bazaars of Old Delhi," "Legacy of Religious Institutions of Chandni Chowk," "Business Cuisine in Old Delhi—Chandni Chowk," "Houses of Old Delhi"; or the Humayun's Tomb complex as "Sunset and Sunrise of the Mughals—the Humayun's Tomb," "Arab ki Sarai in the Humayun Tomb's Complex: The Internet of Yesteryears," "Evolution of Islamic Architecture—Portrayal of the Humayun's Tomb." All these conceptual readings of heritage built and living, tangible and intangible, become forums to raise debates, confrontationist views, and experimentation in terms of the focus and lens provided to perceive the culturalscape. All these issues create a space for the walking tour producer and executer to broker each of these culturalscapes to the audience. "The role of a cultural broker generally begins not in an institution but out in the field, with the people [heritage both living and built] who are represented."[23]

The illustration of exhibiting the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin to the history teachers of India and Pakistan described above feeds into yet another important sector, that of cultural diplomacy. Broadly and simplistically the term can be defined as:

> ... a domain of diplomacy concerned with establishing, developing and sustaining relations with foreign states by way of culture, art and education. It is also a proactive process of external projection in which a nation's institutions, value system and unique cultural personality are promoted at a bilateral and multilateral level.[24]

Cultural diplomacy considers all the ways that images and symbols of a nation's culture and ideals are transmitted abroad.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When exhibiting heritage in an open culturalscape through the mode of walking exhibits, an effort is made by the presenter to harmonize the values and goals of the disparate cultures of an audience (belonging to one cultural tradition) to the culturalscape (that may belong to another cultural context). It is what is known as "mutuality," which is bringing the audience into the natural experience of the world, context, and environment in which the heritage exists. It is explained that it is experiencing diversity and mutuality that aims to exploit and accentuate the crucial importance of direct—ethnographic—experience of diversity and mutuality. That exhibiting heritage is an experience of a particular way of life does not only mean to observe and participate but also to enter the mundane world of sounds and noises, colors and sight, smells and tastes, touch and heat.[25] The tour to promote an understanding of cultural similarities, differences, and bindings between the teachers of history from India and Pakistan discussed the difference of institutions of popular Islam, such as the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin and the difference and similarities it had with institutions of popular Hinduism—the Hindu temples. As such, the entire exhibit also was a medium for cultural diplomacy between people from the two countries of India and Pakistan.

Walking exhibits, as part of tourism, represent detailed dynamics of the heritage of culturalscapes as discussed in the chapter on economics. They form a service sector from within the space of cultural industries—functioning to communicate heritage through narratives and traversing several layers of the heritage on display; the heritage of a culturalscape is brokered by an academic eye to help (re)create its value and worth.

Successful brokering or the exchange value of cultural service, in terms of walking tours, implies the responsibility to increase the audience base. The walking tours bring into contact a holistic aspect of cultural heritage in direct contact with the public, sensitizing it to the value of that heritage. The medium of the walk serves as a forum for cultural representation and also as a connector between what is represented and who experiences the representation. The walking tours represent a mode of cultural advocacy for indigenous heritage as it lends itself to translate the culturalscapes to a wider audience.

The new emerging world is witness to the dominating force of information technology. A large number of people live in the virtual world. Involvement of scholars enmeshed in cultural studies and engaged with the production of walking exhibits becomes a necessity. Their role is to create an experiential ethos of culture rather than the latter remaining a virtual reality for most people who remain isolated in the computer universe, leading sedentary lives. This profession is beyond archival history; it is, in actuality, enhancing the experiential understanding of history and culture. It facilitates the creation of links between the politics, the art, and the business enterprises of people from different countries while augmenting a respect for indigenous cultural identities.

Here I am laying emphasis on the importance of communicating one's cultural heritage to the next generation. The experience of heritage as a lived reality draws them into the real world of understanding cultural heterogeneity, especially in a world of globalization which is leading to greater homogenization, or should one say, a flattening of cultures. Of course, the sameness has its own advantage since one can relate on many forums, for instance, I see how the generation of young Indians feels adjusted to the rest of the world, especially the Western world—they speak English, they are hooked onto equipment of information technology such as the cell phone and computers, have joined virtual networks like "Facebook," they dress similarly, and even eat the same "junk food," such as the great McDonald's burgers. "Cultural homogeneity does, however guarantee boredom and diminished creativity within the species."[26] Many of them are drawn away from their indigenous identity and cultural heritage. Walking tours are an important tool with which these youngsters can be drawn to appreciate, enjoy, value, and participate in the conservation of heritage. The brokering of cultural heterogeneity has become imperative, especially for Gen X. "Cultural heterogeneity entails an extant pool of diverse ways of living, any one of which might have evolutionary advantages in the long run. Cultural heterogeneity provides varied responses to the incredible panoply of environmental conditions and historical circumstances faced by humans."[27]

Exhibiting heritage as discussed in the book is a creative art, a specific and unique cultural profession, and a cultural enterprise that engages people to experience first-hand the intricacies of cultural flow and dynamics. The Indian economy is gradually transforming from a largely socialist one to a capitalist one, which has led to changes in the patronage patterns for art and culture; it has therefore become imperative that cultural professionals essentially become innovative to create their space in society. The engagement of cultural professionals in producing and executing walking exhibits even as a commercial exercise does not, in any way, lessen them as academicians, as has been argued in the book. The book is my humble attempt at a cerebral understanding of the art of exhibiting culture through walking exhibitions. The economic viability and an adequate planning of this role within the reality of an economic environment will ensure sustainability not only for the professional but also for the cause of promoting and conserving culture itself. With the expanding role of the cultural professional in her capacity of producing and executing walking exhibits, she emerges as a public intellectual who creates her space and functionality in society, who acquires respectability as she forges and brokers her value on multiple platforms, and redefines what it is to be a guide, a person who opens a window to India.

> Representation of people, cultures and institutions do not just happen. They are mediated, negotiated, and yes, brokered through often complex processes. Like other forms of brokerage, cultural dealings rely on an extensive base of knowledge, the book is my humble attempt of cerebral understanding the art of exhibiting culture through walking exhibitions formal and experiential, but they are, in the end, an art.[28]

The brokering of culture in the form of the walking exhibits can emerge as an important means of ensuring the cultural flow or the cultural *parampara*, a concept that I introduced in my introduction. Its dynamics of encouraging the breaking of the frozenness of "heritage" makes it a flowing continuum of something that is inherited but continues to flow into the future.

The walks exhibit a vibrant academic activity with which I have been engaged—both at the practical as well as theoretical levels for the last one and a half decade. It is for this reason that there are two sides to the book—one in which the personal experiences of constructing, designing, and executing cultural displays in the form of heritage tours are described as illustrations, and the other that is an attempt to review this category of cultural displays from a critical academic perspective. This book hopes to legitimize public academic work through the engagement of curating and executing walking exhibits and brokering Indian culture to the people of the world.

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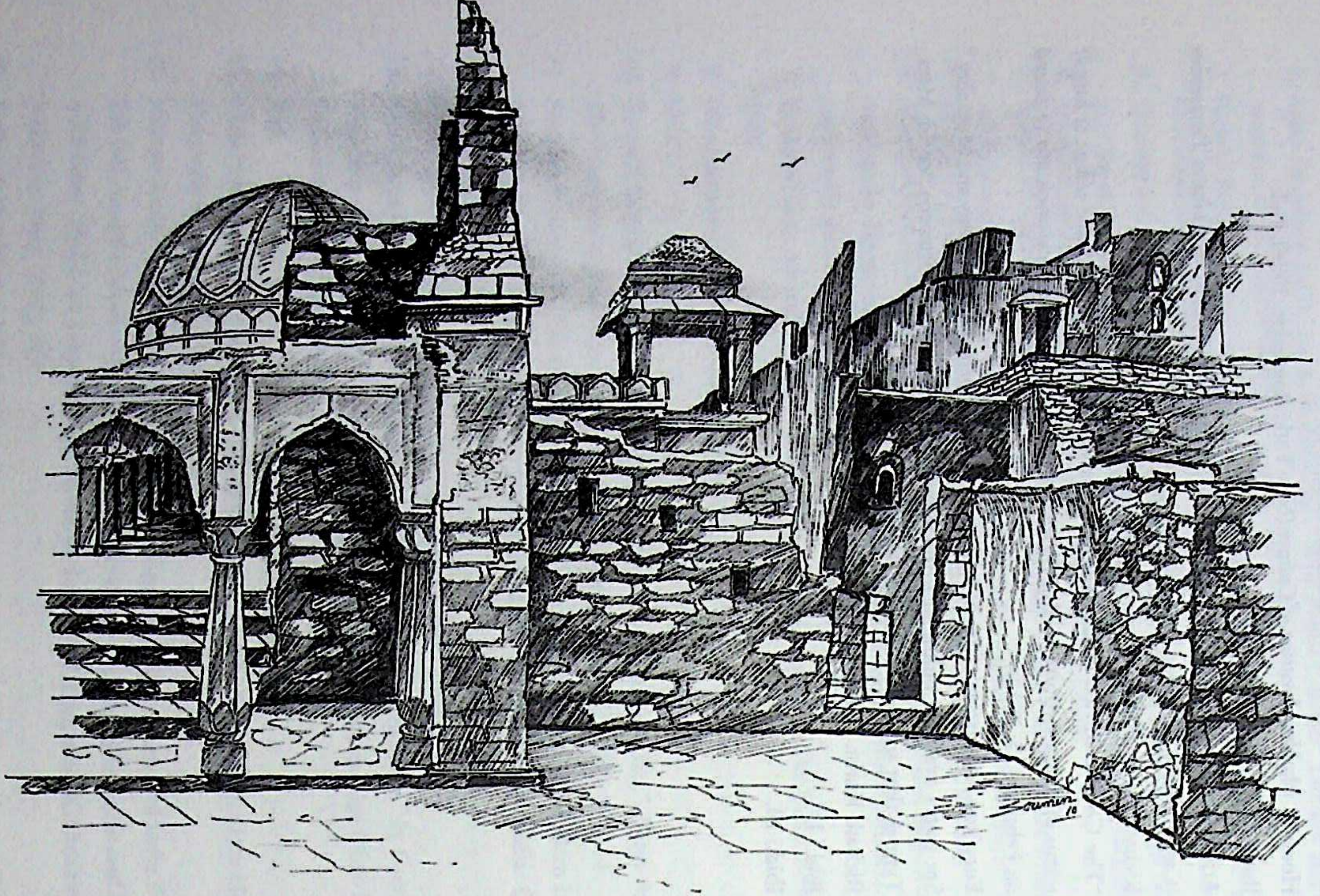

Zafar Mahal, Mehrauli

Conclusion

I started the book by defining heritage as *parampara* (flowing tradition), which is more suitable for the context of ancient, living cultures, and went on to explain how in the concept of a *parampara* the past is made to have a present.

> The heritage industry is predicated on … the power of a designation to constitute a phenomenon, to give it a second life as something other than what it was, as something other than that which might once have been taken for granted as habitus or custom or tradition.[1]

The book has attempted to present a holistic understanding of the flow of heritage by not limiting the exploration to merely the built heritage, but by bringing out the entire plethora of intangible and other categories of heritage such as material and natural heritage as well. It has also looked at the importance of combining what is today, functionally speaking, a divisive professional address toward heritage—that between what conservationist architects do and what the folklorists do. I have tried to incorporate the value of a public folklorist's work with the work done by public conservation architects. I believe that through my presentation of heritage walks, I have tried to highlight the contributions of individual characters and an understanding of built and living heritage, while looking at the manner in which the two are intertwined. For instance, the quintessence of built (as in monuments) or created (as in artifacts) specimens as tangible heritage lies in the stories of the people who create and relate them.

In order to re-create heritage for contemporary audience, one of the highlights in the design and execution of heritage walks is the technique of reading culturalscapes from various frames of reference. Multiple perspectives provide divergent ways by which heritage is presented so that the audience can comprehend the heritage on display. The varied aspects of a particular heritage enable a larger number of people to relate to the heritage. The book, for instance, gives the example of the heritage site of Humayun's Tomb, which has been exhibited through various perspectives for different audiences.

Since different people perceive built heritage from diverse standpoints, they express their understanding through their views on the monuments. This leads to a gradual expansion of the public life of monuments. "The process of protection, of 'adding value,' speaks in and to the present, even if it does so in terms of the past."[2] Also, as people's awareness of heritage grows, the heritage acquires value in their minds and can inspire many of them to contribute to the preservation of it.

Thus, the technique of multiperspective accrues in the production of heritage. For instance, taking off from Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who refers and analyses the work of Rabbi Soloveitchik, who in turn:

> … explores what happens after a rupture, in his case the Holocaust, shatters the taken-for-granted such that what was once learned in the course of daily life, mimetically, precipitates into consciousness and becomes subject to ideological reworking. That which was once just done is now performed.[3]

The chapter on design describes in this context a walk with a special event, titled "Dining Opera," in which a performance of living tradition was crafted while the audience was served a traditional meal. Many of the performing traditions were showcased, such as *dastangoi* (traditional storytelling) and *bahurupiya* (impersonators who dressed as different personas, both as gods and men, some of whom were also considered traditional beggars) represented an integral aspect of traditional lifestyles in the urban towns of North India. Modernization has displaced the relevance of these traditions as a consequence of which they have nearly died out. By showcasing the *bahurupiya* and other "endangered" traditions, they were provided a place in contemporary society. This led to the reworking of these traditions in new formats. Today, several traditions are part of tourist activities reflecting an exotic and nostalgic past. They are no longer organic in nature as they used to be when they were a part of the everyday street and public life; they are now artificially showcased representations in cultural exhibits such as heritage walks.

The book discusses how the public life of heritage, especially that of the built heritage, can sometimes be initiated by communities themselves. This is seen in the directive issued by the Delhi Waqf Board to the people to offer prayers at any mosque, even if it had a heritage status and was declared a national protected and secular monument. In this regard I can make another important conclusion—that heritage walks are not merely educational experiences, but as an activity of tourism they have often resulted in creating public awareness on heritage, which has often led to expressions of public opinion on issues of heritage.

> Tourism can be an instrument for the mobilizing of public opinion. Visitors, by their very presence, by sheer dint of their numbers and their role as witnesses, can serve to ratify what they see. They arrive, visit, see, photograph, report, and thereby bestow a certain reality to a site. So there is a synergy between the production of the site and the role of tourists in giving it an even greater degree of reality than it might otherwise have.[4]

For example, several individuals and media wrote and debated the issue on the initiative of the Waqf Board to encourage worship in protected monuments.[5]

The book has introduced the term "applied heritage" to describe the technique of approaching and presenting heritage from different points of view and proceeds to show how these applications can be used to serve several intentions such as contributing to peace initiatives, understanding of the ground reality of work cultures in India, and so on. Even as the technique of applied heritage is executed, the tenor of the walks opens the performative space for experimentation, debate, and interactive understanding, as was illustrated in the book while describing the interaction of history teachers from India and Pakistan during a walk in a Sufi monastery. The interaction induced the walk participants to discuss and debate shared histories, civilizational memories, and even differences that have risen between and within the two nations during post-Partition times.

As part of the applied heritage technique, the book presents a series of walks that are centered on contemporary issues in which, many a times, the ground reality of changes within a tradition are reflected. Soon after the terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November, 2008, I presented a walk titled "History Changes and Modernization of Education in Madrasas of Delhi." The walk brought in teachers and students who participated as actors narrating the educational system in the madrasas (Muslim seminaries), their own aspirations and the changes that were being brought in, and what they envisaged and hoped for. In one of the madrasa, a young teacher Mohammad Zahir told the audience:

> It is the ardent desire of every madrasa student to not just acquire the religious training that he has been sent there for but also get trained in other subjects which are of essence in trying to eke a livelihood in the real world. I felt that too, that's why I teach English to my students even if my madrasa does not give permission for it.[6]

The concern with rising Islamic fundamentalism and its association with vulnerable youth being educated in these religious institutes attracted as many as 35 Indian and non-Indians to the exhibit.

The response to walking exhibits using applied heritage often results in interesting actions. Two Indian participants volunteered to provide English tuitions free of charge in one of the seminaries to assist the modernization of education in madrassas. A walk on water conservation in the Archaeological Park in Delhi prompted a group of children to visit the park on the weekends to pick up all the plastic litter in and around the park and the step well there.

While presenting the theoretical structure of what goes into designing and executing the production of heritage in the walking exhibits, emphasis was laid on research and awareness of latest critiques on heritage to illustrate how serious and exacting this profession is. It is hoped that the role of a study leader will then acquire greater gravitas and enjoy the respect and status accorded to scholars and performing artistes. Heritage walks are presented as ethnographic spectacles in order to capture the imagination and attention of the audience. In order to do this, the importance of the theatrical and performative character of the heritage walks is highlighted, just as the intention of the walk is to create a world with reference to objective reality. An important part of dramatic performance is to present the spectators with some event or subject they can recognize and identify. Each time they see a performance, they find themselves thrown into a new world, which is a mixture of the familiar and the strange and unknown.

The production of heritage through the heritage walks is crafted around the essence of time. The narrative is tailored so that it links past with present, and sometimes even provides a glimpse of the future. Like in theater, the concept of time is played out in the space where the heritage is. That space is the stage. It is from within that space that the spectators enjoy the spirit of "play." The production of heritage is really a reconfiguration of the conventional idea of time and space normally encountered in theatrical performance.

It is important to understand that the production of heritage through the medium of heritage walks creates value for heritage. The walks are a part of the creative and cultural industry, and more particularly the heritage industry, regardless of whether or not the production of the heritage walks is made in a profit or non-profit initiative. The economic potential in the heritage walks is *sine qua non* to heritage production. It is an industry that feeds into the tourism and educational service industry.

The book emphatically promotes this profession as an economically viable proposition. In order to maintain high reputation and to generate business in an open market system, it is imperative that one addresses technical matter of curating and executing heritage walks carefully. It is both important and inevitable that the content and the delivery of the walks are supposed to be competitive and of high quality, both in the realm of academic inputs and artistic output. This is necessary for the product of heritage walks to survive the competition of market.

Although there is the view from conservative sections of the academia and artistic forums that knowledge and art should not be commercialized, the book takes the view that the heritage walks as an example of both academic and artistic work can be converted into a lucrative enterprise without compromising either scholarship or integrity of the art. The book also conclusively asserts that in the age of changing education models and methodologies, this particular academic initiative too goes beyond institutional centers for cultural research and education and enters into the realistic public space.

As a cultural broker, the study leader—a multiskilled, artistic, public academician—creates these heritage walks as an effort to advocate various concerns of cultural heritage and institutes ways in which heritage will start to matter to people. It is for this reason, the book suggests, that such a class of professionals who in many ways represent a new category of intellectualism—those who indulge in innovations to transform theoretical knowledge into practicalities and make the attempt to contribute to the field of community learning—must be duly applauded. The objective of the study leader of heritage walks as a cultural broker is to produce heritage that will contribute to the heritage *parampara.*

Through my arguments in the book, I hope I have been able to persuade my readers that exhibiting culture is a creative and innovative academic and artistic endeavor, requiring the discipline of a research scholar, the flair of a stage artiste, the diplomatic skills of a member of the foreign service, and most of all, a love of people and their history and pride in being an Indian. It is a rewarding and fulfilling profession, and I would not hesitate to say, it is a moral obligation on us to ensure that through our individual talent we add one more link to the chain, that is, tradition, the *parampara* of this great country.

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Glossary

Adhunikta	(Sanskrit) Modernity
Akhara	A mud pit, which is like a small stadium
Bagh	A garden
Baradari	A building having 12 arched doors used in hot weather
Bahurupiya	Traditional impersonator
Baksheesh	Tip
Barkhat	Blessings
Baoli	A step well; a well where water can be reached by descending steps
Basti	Traditionally, the *basti* was a tract comprising of forest area, which gradually became inhabited. Today it implies an inhabited area, a small neighborhood.
Bazaar	A market consisting of a street lined with shops and stalls
Bhakti	Devotion
Bharat Milap	A scene from the Indian epic Ramayana. The hero Rama returns after a 14-year exile and he unites with his brother Bharat.
Bhava	Mood
Bhopas	Bards
Burqa	Loose garment (usually with veiled holes for the eyes) worn by Muslim women
Chabutra	A sitting platform in a garden or a courtyard
Chandi aur sone ka warq makers	People engaged in the making of fine sheets of silver and gold leaf to decorate Indian sweets
Charbagh	(Persian) A Persian-style garden. The quadrilateral garden is divided by walkways into four smaller parts. *Chār* means four and *bāgh*

	means garden. *Charbagh* originated from the time of Achaemenid Persia. The architectural style represents the number four, which is sacred in Islam. The number four represents the four rivers in Paradise: One of water, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of honey.
Chilla Khana	*Chilla* means a severe trial for 40 days. The word comes from the Persian word *Chihli* which means 40. In Sufi tradition, the *pir* or Shaykh or guru guides the *mureed* or the student to spend his time in seclusion, secluded retreat, and in worship in a dark small room for 40 days. This room is known as *Chilla Khana.*
Chisti	A Sufi order, which originated somewhere along the borders of Afghanistan in a place called Chist toward Central Asia and along the Silk Route. The Chisti Order of Sufism is the most popular form of Sufism in South Asia.
Dafli	A flat hand-played percussion
Dalan	Open hall for reception of visitors
Dargah	The word *dargah*, in Persian, means a threshold but is a Sufi shrine. Muslims believe that *dargahs* are portals by which they can invoke the deceased saint's intercession and blessings.
Darshan	(Sanskrit) A Hindu term; this implies the sight or a glimpse of the divine.
Dastango	Traditional storyteller
Degh	Cauldron
Dhabas	Roadway eatery
Digambar Jain	Jainism is an ancient religion of India that prescribes a path of nonviolence toward all living beings. Its philosophy and practice rely mainly on self-effort to progress the soul up the spiritual ladder to divine consciousness. Any soul that has conquered its own inner enemies and achieved the state of supreme being is called Jina (conqueror or victor). In Jainism there are two major sects, Digambar and Svetambar. The difference is rooted in the requirement in asceticism to attain *moksha* or release from the cycle of

	birth—ultimate salvation. In Digambar, nudity is a requirement for high-level monkhood in order to attain *moksha*. The very high-level Digambar Jain monks, on the one hand, do not wear clothes because they believe clothes, like other possessions, increase dependency and desire for material things, and desire for anything ultimately leads to sorrow. Svetambar Jain monks, on the other hand, wear white and believe there is nothing in Jain scripture that condemns wearing clothes. *Sadhvi*s (nuns) of both sects wear white. In Sanskrit, *ambar* refers to a covering generally or a garment in particular. *Dig*, an older form of *disha*, refers to the cardinal directions. *Digambar* therefore means "covered by the four directions," or "sky-clad." *Svet* means white and Svetambars wear white garments.
Djinn	In Muslim legend, a spirit often capable of assuming human or animal form and exercising supernatural influence over people
Dua	Call to God; supplication and invocation to God in Islam
Durga Puja	A Hindu festival marking the celebration of Goddess Durga who is believed to come to visit her parents. The celebration happens in the month of late September to early October for 10 days.
Dussehra	This festival is celebrated throughout India as a sign of triumphant victory of good over evil. The Dussehra comes from the word "Dus," which means 10 and "Hra" stands for annihilation—the end of the 10-faced one—Ravan, the King of Lanka from the Indian epic Ramayana. On this day, Ram killed the great demon King Ravan, who had abducted his wife Sita to his kingdom. Ram along with his brother Lakshman, his greatest devotee Hanuman, and an army of monkeys fought a great battle to rescue Sita. The war against Ravan lasted for 10 days.
Fajr	Muslim prayer at dawn
Ganesh	Ganesh is widely revered as the Remover of Obstacles and more generally as Lord of Beginnings and Lord of Obstacles. He is considered the patron of arts and sciences and the God of Intellect and Wisdom. He is honored at the beginning of rituals and ceremonies

	and invoked as Patron of Letters during writing sessions. Is the elephant-headed God who is worshiped before commencing any important undertaking as he represents God's aspect as the remover of obstacles.
Gadri ka waqt	Times of turbulence
Ganj	Market
Gur	Jaggery; solidified molasses
Hadith	Narratives originating from words and actions of Islamic Prophet Mohammad. These are important commentaries to understand the Holy Koran.
Hakim	A doctor, physician. In South Asia, usually is one who practices Unani medicine.
Hamam	Turkish bath
Hasht-bihisht	Is an architectural plan that translates as "Eight Paradises" and refers to a Timurid palace building type consisting of two stories of four corner rooms around a central domed space.
Haveli	The word *haveli* is derived from Persian meaning "an enclosed place." It is usually a private residence with a courtyard.
Hazrat	Title for a leader in Islam and Sufism
Hichki	Hiccup
Hijra	Eunuch
Hujras	Corridors
Ibadat	Prayer
Iftar	Meal to break the daily fast during the holy month of Ramadan
Imambaras	Congregation halls for ritual ceremonies of Shia Muslims during the Islamic month of Muharram
Inam	Reward
Iftar	Evening meal to break the daily fast during holy fasting month of Ramadan or as it is known in South Asia—Ramzan
Jahaz Mahal	Palace built in the shape of a ship. This particular palace is situated in South Delhi in the neighborhood of Mehrauli.
Jalebis	Pretzel-shaped fried sweet made of refined flour
Jalis	Perforated, pierced screens of stone

Jama Masjid	Largest mosque in South Asia situated in Delhi, built as an example of the Indo-Islamic architecture, the mosque was built by the fifth Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, the man behind the Taj Mahal.
Jamat	Groups of people who travel from place to place propagating religious fervor amongst Muslims
Janmasthmi	Birthday of a Hindu deity Lord Krishna. *Janm* means birth; *asthami* means the eighth day of the lunar calendar in the Roman month of August.
Jharna	Waterfall
*Jharokha*s	Small overhanging balconies
Kailash Mountain	A great mass of rock soaring to over 22,000 feet, Mt Kailash has the unique distinction of being the world's most venerated holy place at the same time that it is the least visited. The mountain is sacred to four religions—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Bon. This curious fact is explained by the mountain's remote location in far western Tibet. No planes, trains, or buses journey anywhere near the region and even with rugged overland vehicles, the journey still requires weeks of difficult, often dangerous, travel. The weather, always cold, can be unexpectedly treacherous and pilgrims must carry all the supplies they will need for the entire journey. According to Hinduism, Shiva, the destroyer of evil and sorrow, resides at the summit of a legendary mountain named Kailāśā, where he sits in a state of perpetual meditation along with his wife Pārvatī. Kailāśā is regarded in many sects of Hinduism as the ultimate destination of souls and the spiritual center of the world.
Kaniharin	Professional bangle seller in North India who is skilled in making buyers wear bangles, especially glass bangles. *Kaniharin* is a woman and a *kanihar* is a man.
Kasrat	Constant exercising and tuning of mental and physical faculties so that there is a unity of being between spirit, mind, and body.
Kathak Dance	The classical dance traditionally from North India. It is the only dance form in which the body stands erect and is two-dimensional.

	The form has imbibed traditional Indian aesthetics as well as Persian elements. It is characterized by intense complicated footwork and pirouettes.
Kathakars	Bards
Keekar trees	Is also called babul and is not very impressive to look at, but it is valuable for its bark and wood, and it will grow almost anywhere, in desert or marshland. Babul wood is hard and durable and is used for making wheels and other implements. The pod is a favorite food for cattle, sheep, and goats.
Khanqah	Center, a traditional Sufi hospice designed to host gatherings of Sufi brotherhood; it acted as a spiritual retreat.
Khawaja	God
Kheer	Sweet made with milk and rice
Khandit	Damaged
Kurta	Loose collarless shirt worn by many people on the Indian subcontinent
Lakshmi	Is the Hindu goddess of wealth, prosperity (both material and spiritual), light, wisdom, fortune, fertility, generosity, and courage; and the embodiment of beauty, grace, and charm. She is believed to protect her devotees from all kinds of misery and money-related sorrows.
Langar	Community kitchen
Lungi	Wraparound
Madrassa	A center or school for Islamic religious and cultural studies
Magreeb ka namaz	*Maghrib Namaz* or prayers' time starts with Islamic sunset (i.e., 10–12 minutes after actual sunset).
Mahal	A palace
Maulvi	Expert in Islamic law
Markaz	A central meeting point
Masnavi	Couplets that rhyme and have profound spiritual meaning
Matka	(Hindi) A baked clay pitcher
Mazaar	Mausoleum that is regarded as a shrine

Mela	(Hindi) Fair
Mihirab	Arched recess toward Mecca
Moharram	Is the first month of the Islamic calendar. It is one of the four sacred months of the year in which fighting is prohibited.
Moksha	Salvation, escape from the cycle of birth and rebirth in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism
Muraqba	Meditation in Sufism
Mureed	Student, disciple
Namaz	The prayer in Islamic tradition
Nawab	Muslim equivalent to Maharaja
Paan	Betel leaf, consumed by South Asians as a mouth freshener. Various ingredients are filled and wrapped in the leaf; these include betel nut, cardamom, *ani* seed, optional content of tobacco, catechu (*kattha*), *chuna* or lime paste, and other herbs. The leaf is chewed, which releases alkaloids and assists digestion. It is believed the leaf of the *paan* also has aphrodisiac effects.
Pakoras	Fritters made of gram flour
Panchayat	It was traditionally a council of five elders who managed and administered social laws in a community or village. Today, the *panchayat* is the grassroot government level in the villages in India.
Parampara	(Sanskrit) Dynamic, flowing tradition
Pehalwan	Wrestler
Pir	Also called Shayakh, is a guru, a teacher who initiates a student in Sufism
Phool walon ki Sair	Festival of the traveling flower bearers, a festival that started in the 19th century. The procession of flower bearers would carry flower fans from a Hindu temple and the procession would move to a Sufi hospice.
Puja	In Hinduism, a ceremonial worship
Pungi	A wind instrument used by snake charmers
Purna Ghat	The pot of prosperity

Piyao	Water center, free water is distributed, especially during hot summers in South Asia
Qawwali	Is a vibrant musical tradition that stretches back more than 700 years. Originally performed mainly at Sufi shrines throughout the subcontinent, it has also gained mainstream popularity. *Qawwali* music received international exposure through the work of the Pakistani singer, late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. Listeners and often artists themselves are transported to a state of *wajad*, a trance-like state where they feel at one with God, generally considered to be the height of spiritual ecstasy in Sufism.
Qawwals	Traditional Sufi singers attached to Sufi shrines
Qawwal bachas	Children of *qawwals* or traditional Sufi singers
Rasa	In Indian aesthetics, the word implies emotional juice. There are nine emotions that are identified in the Indian aesthetic theory; they are: Laughter, Compassion, Bravery, Anger, Disgust, Wonder, Fear, Love, and Peace.
Rasika	A connoisseur of art who relishes and submerges with any artistic creation
Ramzan or Ramadan	The Islamic month of fasting
Rauza	(Persian) Tomb with attached mosque and a garden, which is symbolic of garden of paradise in Islam
Riyaz	Practice
Roti	(Hindi) Bread
Sajjada Nasheen	Chair holder
Sama	In Sufism, it is the practice of listening to music and chanting to reinforce ecstasy and induce mystical trance
Samosas	Fried stuffed patties
Sangha	Community of Buddhist monks
Sarai	An enclosed space in a city or beside a highway where travelers and caravans can find shelter, sustenance, and companionship; a

	tavern, a public house, a meeting place; a destination and a point of departure; a place to rest in the middle of a journey.
Saraswati	Goddess of knowledge in Hinduism
Sehri	The early morning meal before sunrise in Islamic communities
Sewaiya	Vermicelli cooked in milk with nuts and usually flavored with saffron and cardamom. There are special and varied ways to cook these Indian vermicelli.
Shehnai	An aerophonic instrument, a double reed conical oboe, common in North India, made out of wood, and played through a metal flare bell
Shia	Shia and Sunni are the two main orthodox sects within Islam. Shism is dominant as a sect in Iran.
Shiva	The destroyer; one of the three major divinities in the later Hindu pantheon
Silsila	Sufi orders that chart a certain chain of distinct transmission
Stupa	A mound like funerary structure in Buddhist tradition where the remains along with relics of either Buddha himself or evolved Buddhist Monks are buried. The stupa is known by different names in different places, in Tibet and Ladakh, for example, they are known as Chortens.
Sutradhar	A narrator in Indian drama
Swaroop	Form
Tabeez	An amulet with Koranic inscription
Taburuk	Rose petals
Tehkhana	Basement
Tantric	Literally tantric means a "manual"; however, tantricism is a complex, esoteric route of meditation, rituals, and practices that basically believes in energizing and empowering the self through intense Yogic practices in order to control the senses. Unfortunately in the race to empower oneself, there has often been misuse of black magic and illicit sexual practices.

Tariqas	Sufi orders
Tawaif	(Urdu) A courtesan, usually associated with North India and Pakistan who catered to the nobility
Unani medicine	System based on the ancient Greek theory of four basic elements—air, earth, fire, and water—and four bodily fluids (humors)—blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile (choler). The goal of Unani is the balancing of humors. Temperament stems from the dominant humor and is a determinant of diagnosis and treatment. For example, anger and irritability manifest an excess of yellow bile. Unani is the Arabic word for Greek.
upaj ang	Impromptu creation
Urs	Death anniversary in the Sufi tradition. It is an Islamic function to commemorate the death anniversary of a Sufi saint whose death is the culmination of a life yearning to meet Allah. In dictionary terms, it means a wedding. The bride and groom are called Aroos.
vyaktitva	(Sanskrit) Individual talent
Wajuh	Ablutions
Waqf	Endowment in Islam
Warli painting	Warli art is an ancient Indian folk art tradition of painting of a Maharashtrian tribe called Warli. Historians believe that the Warli tradition can be traced back to as far as the Neolithic period between 2,500 BCE and 3,000 BCE. It has since traveled across borders and territories and home décor products with Warli paintings have an international appeal and demand too. The Warli paintings essentially depict the basic principles of life, which are the main theme or basis of any tribe.
Zikr	Remembering Allah in Sufi tradition sometimes with songs
Zikr Khafi	Remembrance in silence
Zikr Zahar	Remembrance in sound
Zinda pir	A living saint
Ziyarat	A pilgrimage

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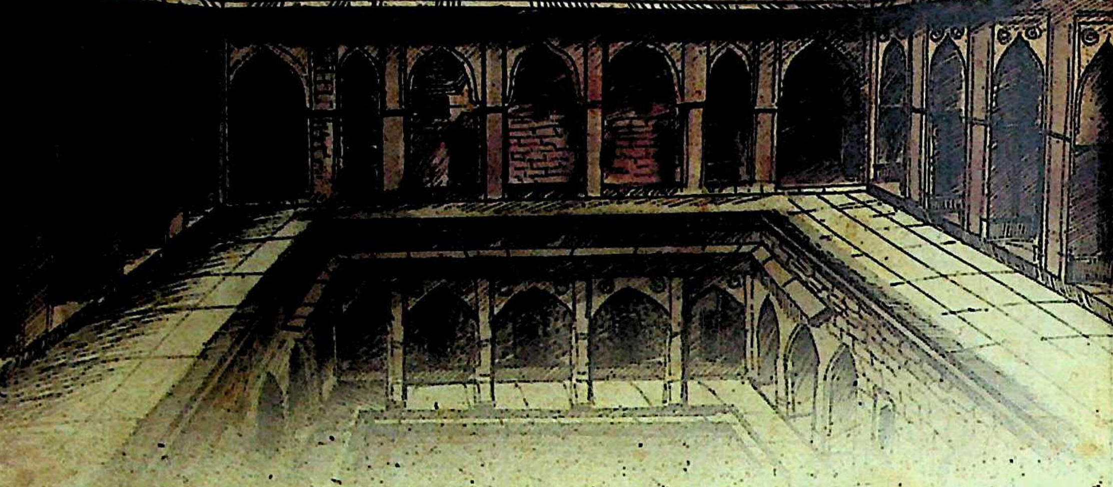
About the Author

Navina Jafa is a cultural activist, an academician, and a renowned performing artist. Having pioneered academic cultural tourism, her work has reached out to academicians, high-level political and economic delegates, students, corporate executives, and children. She has designed and executed academic tours all around India, including Ladakh, Spiti, Sikkim, Central India, South India, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and West Bengal.

She was a Fulbright Scholar on Cultural Management and Representation at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage in Washington DC, USA. She also taught a program on Performance, Culture, and Development at Brandeis University, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. She has contributed to development programs for artisans at the Foundation for Arts, a nonprofit organization based in Delhi.

She is currently a lead consultant with the Asian Heritage Foundation and the Director of Indian Cultural Heritage Research, a pool of researchers looking at creating dossiers on the cultural heritage of South Asia. She has recently been appointed as a Heritage Consultant by the Shahjahanabad Redevelopment Corporation, Government of Delhi, where her role is to strategize a heritage movement program among citizens of Delhi, to develop heritage activities with citizens groups, working with over 500 schools on heritage and education, and to assist in creating public awareness on keeping heritage landscapes clean.

Dr Jafa is also responsible for the project on cultural mapping of intangible heritage for the organization. She has recently been invited by Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), Government of India, to develop an exhaustive program and website on Heritage Education. Her work on heritage presentation has been recently reviewed in the *Financial Times* as "Gatekeeper of the Spectacular!" Along with her work on heritage she continues to perform Kathak as a concert artist.



Heritage is a dynamic, flowing phenomenon. Even buildings cannot remain static; perceptions of them change, new perspectives evolve, the environment in which they exist/live changes, and many of them acquire several lives with time. Production of heritage through heritage walks is crafted around the essence of time. The narrative is tailored so that it links past with present, and sometimes even provides a glimpse of the future. Like in theater, the concept of time is played out in the space where the heritage is. That space is the stage. It is from within that space that the spectators enjoy the spirit of "play."

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